MISSIONARIES, REFORMERS, AND THE BEGINNINGS OF WESTERN MUSIC IN LATE IMPERIAL CHINA (1839-1911)

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ABSTRACT

This is a study of Christian missionaries, Chinese reformers and the beginnings of Western music in late imperial China (1842-1911). It focuses on examining how Christian missionaries and Chinese reformers, in the process of advancing their goals, made use of aspects of Western musical culture and how their actions helped facilitate the introduction of Western music to a wider Chinese audience in the late Qing. The purpose of this study is to show that the introduction of Western music in China was essentially a by-product of Christian evangelism and Chinese reformism.

The central contention of the thesis is that Western music was introduced to the Chinese not for its aesthetic appeal or artistic superiority but for its utility in China's conversion to God and in its struggle for modernity.

This study is constructed upon empirical evidence chiefly from primary sources and from citations in Chinese and Western scholarship. It makes use of written accounts such as diaries, letters, memoirs, newspaper and magazine materials, religious tracts, sermons, and visual representations of musical activity in contemporaneous paintings, photos, drawings and prints.

The thesis is divided into two main parts. The first part, comprising Chapters 1 to 4, investigates the uses of music in Christian missions in China and the role of missionaries in the introduction and gradual spread of Western music in China. The second part, consisting of Chapters 5 to 9, deals with the role of Chinese reformers and that of Japan in the wide dissemination of Western music at the turn of the twentieth century. The Conclusion recapitulates some of the findings from the nine chapters and restates the general argument of this thesis. It also offers some reflections on the broad significance of the role of the missionaries and Chinese reformers in the forming of a new musical tradition in China.

Preface

In the autumn of 1923, Wang Guangqi 王光祈 (1892-1936), a May-Fourth student leader and a social reformer-turned-musicologist then residing in Berlin, wrote a series of reports for the Shanghai-based newspaper *Shenbao* 申報. In addition to providing general information on the origins, genres, and prominent figures of German music, Wang took pains to lecture the Chinese reading public on the vital importance of music in creating and maintaining a nation's prosperity.[1] Shortly afterwards, in the foreword to his book *Ouzhou yinyue jinhua lun* 歐洲音樂進化論 (On the Evolution of European Music), Wang once again reminded his readers of the crucial relevance of music to China's national rejuvenation. But this time Wang had worked out his concept of *guoyue*國樂or national music ideal. Citing the wealth of German music (i.e. Western classical music of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries) as the primary reason for Germany's rapid transformation from tradition to modernity, Wang called for "a revival of Confucian *li* 禮 and *yue*樂" as a precondition for China's survival in a competitive Darwinist world, thus elevating music as the best means of social and political transformation.

Wang defined *guoyue* as a new kind of music that "is sufficient to carry forward the upward spirit of that nation and at the same time win international recognition for its [artistic] value."[2] Clearly, what Wang aspired to for Chinese music was the universality that European classics had achieved. But his European sojourn also set him on a search for musical nationalism. To Wang, the best approach to bringing the *guoyue* ideal to fruition was through a thorough investigation of China's own musical heritage and a selective assimilation of Western compositional techniques and research methodologies, and an adoption of Western musical instruments – an approach not fundamentally different from the one adopted earlier by composers from such "newly emerging nations"

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[1] Wang Guangqi, "Deguoren zhi yinyue shenghuo" 德國人之音樂生活 (1) & (2) (Musical Life of the German People), *Shenbao* (7 & 8 October, 1923).

[2] Wang Guangqi, "Zhushu ren de zuihou mudi" 著書人的最後目的 (The Ultimate Aim of the Author) in *Ouzhou yinyue jinhua lun* 歐洲音樂進化論 (On the Evolution of European Music) (Shanghai: Zhonghua shuju, 1924).

as Hungary, Bohemia, Poland, Russia, Scandinavia, England and Spain in the nineteenth century.[3]

Yet what distinguishes Wang from his nineteenth-century European predecessors was his extraordinary emphasis on the instrumentality of music in nation building and his belief in the indispensability of Western music in creating a Chinese national music. Clearly, an appreciation of the artistic value of Western music was not the primary reason behind Wang's attention to music. Nor would the realisation of his *guoyue* ideal mark the end of his quest. In other words, rather than seeing music as a realm that should be kept separate from politics, Wang regarded music as an effective instrument to speed up China's transformation from tradition to modernity.

Had Wang been the only Chinese intellectual who advocated this extremely utilitarian approach to music, we could just dismiss this out of hand as some kind of idiosyncratic nonsense. But Wang was neither alone nor the first to advocate this approach. The notion that music can be used as an instrument for moral education and political governance has a venerable history in China going back to China's high antiquity. Confucius, earlier than Plato, Aristotle and Horace, emphasised the transformative effect of music on the body and mind and used music as a means to instruct his students in ethics. In modern times Liang Qichao was among the earliest to call for the creation of a new type of music in China that would help "renovate the people" (*xinmin*新民). Coterminous with the prevalent trend to revive the Chinese nation through rebuilding China's national culture,[4] the 1920s and 1930s saw intense efforts by Chinese intellectuals highly trained in either Chinese or Western music (and in some cases both) to reform China through music. The call for the creation of a new kind of music that was scientific and national but invested with a crucial social purpose was

[3] Leon Plantinga, *Romantic Music: A History of Musical Style in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1984), p. 344. Chapter 11, entitled "Nationalist Music," focuses on these countries.
[4] For a stimulating discussion of China's nation-building and culture-building project as reflected in the field of literature, see Lydia H. Liu, *Translingual Practice: Literature, National Culture, and Translated Mondernity – China, 1900-1937* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1995), pp. 183-256. In art, Gao Jianfu, Gao Qifeng, and Chen Shuren – the three founders of the Lingnan School- all held "the approach to art as a means to national rejuvenation" and experimented with "a syncretic style that sought to combine the best features of modern Western and traditional Chinese painting." See Ralph C. Croizier, *Art and Revolution in Modern China: The Lingnan (Cantonese) School of Painting, 1906-1951* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), p. 1.

not simply a musical phenomenon but an integral part of Chinese intellectuals' effort to revive China through cultural means.

When I started to work on this thesis, my intention was to concentrate on Wang Guangqi -- not to write a biography but to use him as a signpost to guide me through the discourse on *guoyue* and to explore the highly pragmatic and utilitarian objectives inherent in this mode of discourse. The choice of Wang was due not so much to his importance in the history of modern China as to the fact that he more than anyone else epitomizes a group of post-May Fourth Chinese intellectuals who advocated the use of music as a means of national rejuvenation. My working hypothesis was that the enthusiasm for and wide acceptance of Western musical values and techniques in the 1920s and 1930s were not merely a musical phenomenon but an integral part of China's struggle for cultural transformation and national survival. This theme, as will be seen, remains my overriding argument. However, as the work progressed, it became clear to me that the treatment of music as a practical tool did not begin with the May Fourth generation. It was the dominant reason behind the missionary involvement in introducing Western music to China in the first place. Similarly, the realisation that Western music could be used as an effective tool to advance their reform causes was precisely the rationale that motivated earlier Chinese reformers to promote Western music in the late 1890s and the early 1900s. Thus, for a better and more historically grounded understanding of the interconnectedness between the inception of Western music and China's struggle for modernity, and, to a lesser degree, the fortunes of Western music in China in the last hundred years, it seems logical to start with the late Qing.

It must be pointed out, however, that the issues explored in the present thesis are multi-faceted and far from being resolved. Nor have the themes discussed here ceased to interest scholars of modern Chinese music. Debates in China and elsewhere have shown that assessing and reflecting on the impact of Western music on the formation of a new and now dominant musical tradition in China have been a major focus of scholarly attention since the mid-1980s. The tension created by differences over the importance and desirability of Western music continues to be a significant motif of modern Chinese music history. The interest in the social and political uses and

significance of music is unlikely to diminish on the part of Chinese music historians, composers, performers, musicologists, theorists, and policy makers and party bureaucrats in charge of music.[5]

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In the course of writing this thesis, I have accumulated many debts. My main debts of gratitude are to two people. The first is Professor Paul Clark, who, as my principal supervisor, encouraged me to undertake this study and meticulously read every single draft and revised chapter of the thesis and provided me with valuable feedback. Professor Clark's patience, thoughtfulness and intellectual shrewdness were responsible for guiding the transformation of an early inkling into an idea, then into an argument, and finally into a thesis. The second is Dr Richard T. Phillips, who despite his busy teaching and administrative schedule, kindly agreed to take on the role of co-supervisor. I thank Richard for having heroically endured the earlier versions of this study and for his contribution to its final shape.

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[5] Apart from numerous journal articles, debates of this nature are mainly recorded in the proceedings of the seminars on the development of new music held in Hong Kong from 1984 to 1999. For bibliographical details, see Bibliography, under Liu Ching-chih劉靖之.

Music and Dr Li Shiyuan 李詩源of the Academy of Arts of the People's Liberation Army for sharing with me their work on modern Chinese music. I am grateful to Professor Wang Shenshen汪申申 of the Wuhan Conservatory of Music for answering my numerous queries, to Professor Liu Xinxin 劉欣欣of Tsinghua University for sending me her monograph on Western music in Harbin. I am grateful to Professor Liu Zaisheng劉再生 of Shandong Normal University for showing me hospitality and allowing me to browse his vast collection of materials on ancient Chinese music during my research trip to Jinan in 2004, and to Professor Ling Ruilan 凌瑞蘭of the Shenyang Conservatory of Music for kindly sending me her book on music in China's northeast.

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The bulk of the research for this work was conducted in the Music Library of the Chinese Academy of Arts in Beijing, the Library in the Research Institute of Modern History, Academia Sinica in Taibei, the Library of Peking University, the National Library of Australia, the Menzies Library in the Australian National University, and the Provincial Library of Shandong in Jinan. My thanks to the librarians and archivists of

those institutions for their assistance. Dr Andrew Gosling of the National Library of Australia deserves a special thank for taking the time to show me the London Missionary Society Collection.

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The writing of this thesis coincided with the arrival of my daughter Emily. I thank her for giving my wife and I so much joy and I beg her forgiveness for being unable to spend more time with her. I am eternally grateful to my wife Amy Wei-I Tien for being so patient and for the scarifies she has made in order to help me complete this thesis.

HYG
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TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

> *All music –all organization of sounds– is a method of creating or consolidating a community; it is the link of power with its subjects, and an attribute of this power, whatever its form.*[1]

Scholars in the People's Republic of China and abroad have generally agreed that the introduction and spread of Western music in China in the last years of the Qing Dynasty (1644-1911) resulted from the combined efforts of Western imperialistic expansion and China's search for modernity. Yet, little research has been done on the question of how Western music was introduced, and, once introduced, used by Westerners and Chinese reformers to advance their causes. The present thesis aims to fill in this lacuna by providing a detailed historical account of Christian missionaries, Chinese reformers and the development of Western Music in China from 1842 to 1911. As largely dictated by this quest, the primary focus of the thesis is necessarily on two aspects of the missionary and Chinese endeavours. First, we focus on the actual processes by which Christian missionaries and Chinese social and political reformers of the late Qing period consciously selected and appropriated aspects of Western and Chinese music to serve their ideological purposes. Second, we focus on the extent to which their efforts facilitated the introduction of Western music to a wider Chinese audience and ultimately contributed to the formation of a new musical tradition in China.[2]

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[1] Jacques Attali, "Foreword" in *Music and Marx: Ideas, Practice, Politics*, edited by Regula Burckhardt Qureshi (New York: Routledge, 2002), p. x.

[2] This tradition, as defined by Liu Ching-chih, is "westernised Chinese music written by Chinese composers in the 20th century, European in form and structure, [using] contrapuntal and harmonic texture and levels of expression." See Liu, "The Development of New Music in China: Reflections on Past Research" in Liu Ching-chih ed., *Papers and Proceedings of the Music Symposia of the 34th International Congress of Asian and North African Studies -- Asian Music with Special Reference to China and India* (Hong Kong: Centre of Asian Studies, University of Hong Kong, 1997), p. 10. This category, termed *xin yinyue* 新音樂 (New Music) by Liu, but named *jin xiandai yinyue*近現代音樂 (modern and contemporary music) by mainland-based Chinese music scholars, is regarded as the

By focusing on the practical uses of music by the missionaries and Chinese reformers and the ways in which music and discourse on music participated in struggles over issues of nation-building, class, cultural modernity, and social and political transformation, I wish to demonstrate that the diffusion of Western music in China in the last decades of the Qing dynasty was essentially a by-product of Christian evangelism and Chinese reformism. Thus the central contention of the thesis is that Western music was introduced to the Chinese not for its beauty or artistic superiority but for its utility in China's Christian conversion and in its struggle for modernity.

Although Western music appeared early in China, unlike the musics of Central Asia, it failed to exert wide and lasting influence prior to China's defeat in the Opium Wars in the mid-nineteenth century. The appearance of Nestorian hymns in the Tang dynasty, Catholic liturgical music in the Mongol interlude, Western musical instruments in the last years of the Ming, and music theory during the early days of the Qing raised the interest of those who came into contact with them. But on the whole the impact of these aspects of Western music on the wider Chinese population was neither widespread nor lasting.

With the dawn of the nineteenth century, particularly with the treaty settlements emerging from the Opium War (1839-1842) and the Anglo-French expedition (1856-1860), however, a new chapter in the history of Sino-Western musical intercourse began. Unlike the Nestorians, the Franciscan brothers and the Catholic Jesuits, the nineteenth-century missionaries, Protestants in particular, who came to China in the wake of the Opium Wars introduced, among other things, aspects of Western musical

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mainstream of Chinese music despite the fact that it is a new addition to the five categories of traditional Chinese music, namely, *minge*民歌 (folk songs), *gewu* 歌舞 (song and dance), *quyi* 曲藝

culture to a relatively wider Chinese population in spite of the small number of Protestant converts compared to the Catholics.[3] The re-introduction of Western music at this time and its diffusion among the Chinese poor was neither a carbon copy of earlier Christian endeavours nor incidental, both musically and socially. It involved a different set of musical idioms and a rapidly changing social milieu, brought on by the twin effects of internal socio-political erosion and the external forces of Western imperialism. Whereas the music introduced earlier pertained almost exclusively to Catholic liturgy, the repertoire introduced at this time was dominated mainly by Protestant psalmody. The Protestants, like other Catholics before them,[4] worked among the Chinese at a grass-roots level. Together, they managed to spread Western music to a segment of Chinese society that had been ignored by the Jesuits.[5] Although there is little evidence to suggest that missionaries explicitly conceived of music as part of imperialism, the fact that the re-introduction and spread of Western music by Christian missionaries followed the same route as Western imperialist encroachment on China serves as a clear indication of the interconnectedness of the two.

In the years immediately after the signing of the Treaty of Nanjing, missionaries began to teach Western music in Hong Kong and the five treaty ports, namely,

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(folk art forms such as ballad singing, storytelling, clapper talks, cross talks, etc.), *xiqu*戲曲 (opera), and *qiyue*器樂 (instrumental music).

[3] Philip West has pointed out the greater role played by "Protestant missions in breaking down the Confucian order and in offering new ideas." He writes, "Mission stations were located in more than 1,500 of some 2,000 counties in all of China's provinces, but equally important was their broad system of schools and their political ties with the Chinese leadership during the late Ch'ing (1644-1912) and the Republican (1912-49) years." See his *Yenching University and Sino-Western Relations, 1916-1952* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1976), pp. 5-6.

[4] It is true that the Jesuits wanted top-down conversion methods, but other Catholics, active for almost 200 years before the advent of the Protestants, were interested in grass-roots activity. For a summary of Catholicism in Jiangxi's rural areas since 1595, see Alan Richard Sweeten, *Christianity in Rural China: Conflict and Accommodation in Jiangxi Province 1860-1900* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2001), pp. 18-39.

Guangzhou, Xiamen, Fuzhou, Ningbo, and Shanghai. Hymn-singing was not only an integral part of their congregational activities but also part of the study curriculum of their charity schools for the poor and destitute. After 1860, when missionaries ceased to hover on the periphery of China--thanks to the second tranche of treaty settlements they helped negotiate-- they began to facilitate the spread of Western choral music and rudiments of music theory, along with other missionary initiatives, to ordinary people in the Chinese interior.[6] The last two decades of the nineteenth century not only witnessed the gradual introduction of instrumental music and the popularisation of choral singing bands in mission schools and colleges but also saw the wide use of military bands in Chinese urban centres. Moreover, a trend toward professionalism in missionary music teaching was also developing. But once again, this change was dictated by the Christian instrumentalist view of music. The attention to instrumental music and the popularisation of choirs were brought about by the combined result of missionary pragmatism and the demands of the Chinese environment.

Yet, because of the hostility of both the Qing government and Chinese gentry-scholar class and the general indifference the Chinese populace showed toward Christianity, Christian teaching by and large failed to gain wide acceptance in all strata of Chinese society.[7] Consequently, Western music, as part of the Christian package, failed to have a large following in China before the turn of the twentieth

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[5] As will be seen, my account will focus on work by Protestant missionaries. This is simply because the sources that are available relate mainly to them; I do not mean to imply that no such work was done by Catholic missionaries.

[6] For a summary of Christian pioneering efforts in breaking down the Confucian social order, see John K. Fairbank, "Introduction: The Many Faces of Protestant Missions in China and the United States" in Fairband ed., *The Missionary Enterprise in China and America* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1974), p. 2.

[7] The anti-Christian tradition before the mid-nineteenth century has been discussed most thoroughly by Paul A. Cohen. See his *China and Christianity: The Missionary Movement and the Growth of Chinese Antiforeignism, 1860-1870* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1963), pp. 3-60.

century in spite of its appeal as an emblem of modernity to some reform-minded Chinese residing in such modern metropolis as Shanghai.

As the nineteenth century drew to a close, an increasing number of Chinese, led by a group from the social and cultural elite, began to take an active interest in Western music and subsequently became involved in the promotion and dissemination of this music. Like the Christian missionaries, these late Qing reformers were attracted by the usefulness of Western music in advancing their causes, not by its aesthetic or artistic values. Their emphasis was almost exclusively on the social and political functions of music. As far as musical forms were concerned, the early Chinese promoters of Western music consciously promoted certain genres of Western music. These included the military marches, school and national anthems, and brass bands. Unlike later promoters of Western music, they were not particularly impressed by the advanced techniques of Western music as represented by tempered scales, standard notation, functional harmony, or contrapuntal and orchestral lines.[8] Nor were the late Qing reformers overly preoccupied with the notion of creating a new style of music that was uniquely Chinese (*guoyue*國樂), as were their later, May Fourth counterparts.[9] Their attention to Western music like military bands and school

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[8] Professionally-trained musicians and music educators of the May Fourth era and beyond later identified these factors as being superior to China's indigenous musical system. See Xiao Youmei 萧友梅, "Shenme shi yinyue? Waiguo de yinyue jiaoyu jiguan. Shenme shi yuexue? Zhongguo yinyue jiaoyu bu fada de yuanyin" 什么是音樂? 外國的音樂教育机构. 什么是樂學?中國音樂教育不發達的原因(What is Music? Educational Establishments of Music in the West. What Is Musicology? The Reasons for the Lack of Development in Chinese Music), *Yinyue zazhi*音樂雜誌 (The Journal of Music) Vol. 1, No. 3 (May 1920); "Zuijin yiqian nian lai xiyue fazhan zhi xianzhu shishi yu woguo jiuyue bu zhen zhi yuanyin" 最近一千年来西樂發展之显著事實与我國舊樂不振之原因 (The Apparent Truth of Western Music's Progress in the Last One Thousand Years and the Reasons Why Our Traditional Music Failed to Develop), *Yinyue zazhi*, Vol. 1, No. 3 (July 1934), pp. 21-23.

[9] For Chinese discourses on *guoyue* in the 1920s and 1930s, see Chen Zhongzi 陳仲子, "Yu guoyue zhi fuxing yi tong xiyue shuo" 欲國樂之复兴宜通西樂説 (An Understanding of Western Music Is Good for the Revival of Chinese Music), *Yinyue zazhi*, Vol. Nos. 9 & 10 (December 1920), Vol. 2, No. 1 (January 1921); Zheng Xunyin鄭訓寅, "Guoyue zhi fuxing yu Xiyue zhi jieshao" 國樂之复兴与西樂之介紹 (The Renaissance of Chinese Music and the Introduction of Western Music), *Xin yuechao*新樂潮 (New Musical Tide), Vol. 1, No. 2 (July 1927), pp. 11-12; Huang Zi 黄自, "Zenyang caineng

songs arose from their conviction that these forms of Western music were effective tools for the realisation of their political and social aspirations.

The early Chinese attempts at using Western music were not passive. Nor did their learning trajectories follow the same path. Modernisers of Chinese military forces, following the advice of their German advisers, incorporated military bands into their armies from the year 1885 onwards. Social and political reformers in roughly the same period chose to promote Western-style group singing in unison as the ideal tool for China's social and political transformation.

Early Chinese reformers, especially those in education, owed a significant intellectual debt to the Protestant missionaries and the existence of a relatively well-established music teaching practice in mission schools. But many Chinese educational reformers sought direct inspiration from Japan mainly out of practical expediency.

As far as music was concerned, Japan's importance in China's search for modernity was most pronounced between the years of 1895 and 1911. As a cultural intermediary, Japan not only alerted the Chinese to the instrumentality of music in promoting political and social reform but also showed them how music could be used to address the more urgent issue of nationalism. Unlike the missionaries whose influence permeated only a small segment of Chinese society, the Japanese were much more successful in exerting influence on the minds of educated Chinese. Japan's selective absorption and adaptation of Western learning were much more inspiring to the Chinese and hence had a wider impact on Chinese society as a whole. On a more concrete plain, Japan trained a relatively large number of Chinese songwriters or arrangers of Western idiom. The employment of Japanese teachers in

chansheng woguo minzu yinyue" 怎样才能产生我國民族音樂 (How to Create Our National Music),

China's new schools and the translation of Japanese textbooks further facilitated the spread of Western music in China at the time. The musical activism of Japanese-trained Chinese pioneers and Japanese teachers in the employ of powerful provincial officials was responsible for the phenomenal popularity of Western-style group singing in China in the first decades of the twentieth century. They also account for the entrenchment in China of this new form of singing tradition. As a medium for the propagation of ideas, attitudes, and values, songs continue to be emphasised even to this day.

Thematic Considerations

This thesis is about music, but not just about music. This means that my concerns go beyond music history, narrowly defined. As the above outline of the topic has already made clear, this thesis belongs more in the fields of history and cultural studies than in musicology. Yet it is not envisaged as a chronological history of Western music in China. Nor is it a study of Western influence on Chinese music.

Although China's modern encounter with the West was not confined to the mission field, I choose to focus on the roles of Protestant missionaries and the agency of Chinese reformers in introducing Western music to China. Since this is one of the unworked themes in modern Chinese history, a fair amount of evidence gathering is required in order to place the discussion on the practical uses of music on firm historical ground. In addition to empirically documenting the early presence of Western music in China, I pay special attention to the nature of missionary and reformer sponsored music teaching. I analyse the multi-faceted missionary experience in teaching Chinese to sing the praise of the Lord and the troubled Chinese experience with Western music under the twin imperatives of maintaining cultural

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Chenbao 晨報 (Morning Post) (October 21, 1934).

identity and striving to modernise along Western lines. I also trace the origins and development of Western-style music teaching in mission schools and examine how missionary pragmatism dictated the way music classes were conducted at different stages of the Christian enterprise in China. Instead of treating the musical work of both the missionaries and Chinese reformers as separate enterprises, I endeavour to show the complexities of cross-cultural interactions by examining the socio-cultural contexts in which missionaries and Chinese reformers worked and the ways in which they were subject to the requirements of their ideologies and the social ethos of their time.

Although musicological analysis is not the main focus of this study, it is important to understand what the missionaries and Chinese reformers were trying to do musically. To do so we must be able to understand the musical idioms used by missionaries and Chinese reformers. In this regard, musical analysis is as important as written sources. For this reason, I include musicological examinations of the teaching manuals compiled by missionaries and some of the songs produced by Chinese reformers. Through this I identify missionary affinities with specific traditions in either Western or Chinese music; the sources of indigenous and foreign influence, Western and Japanese, on Chinese reformers; and the technical problems of creating a new vocabulary for Western music. Thus, a cross-disciplinary approach combining methodologies and perspectives developed in the disciplines of history, musicology, ethnomusicology, cultural studies and literary criticism is used.

In my effort to engage with music and modern Chinese history in general and my study of missionaries and Chinese reformers' difficult and various experiences with transmitting Western music in particular, it is inevitable that I shall touch upon some of the issues involved in China's search for modernity at the turn of the

twentieth century. By charting the rise of Western music in China and analysing the actions of principal actors associated with it, I hope the thesis will help explicate the connection between music and the politics of nation-building in twentieth-century China. This will also shed light on our understanding of such complex issues as Western imperialism, iconoclasm, internationalism, nationalism and Chinese intellectuals' predicament in maintaining their cultural identity while under the heavy pressure of Westernisation.

There is nothing new about music being used to serve social, political and ideological goals.[10] Music as a means of edification, personal cultivation, and political governance has occupied an important place in Chinese cultural life from the earliest recorded times.[11] "The political use of literature and art," writes Ellen Judd in her study of the Chinese Communist use of drama and songs in the Jiangxi Soviet, "was an established reality and conscious tradition in China."[12] Without going into detail, it is important to note that, going back to its Confucian roots,[13] this utilitarian approach to music has always been very explicit in much of Chinese discourse on music and it is especially so during modern times. While the need for self-expression occasionally found its voice in essays on music,[14] didactic utilitarianism has always

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[10] Arnold Perris, *Music as Propaganda: Art to Persuade and to Control* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1985). Jacques Attali, *Noise*: *The Political Economy of Music*, trans, Brian Massumi (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1992).

[11] Chinese classics abound in references to music and almost all of the major thinkers of early China remarked on the significance of music. For samples of such passages, see Walter Kaufmann, *Musical References in the Chinese Classics* (Detroit: Information Coordinators, 1976). For a brief description of music in the services of socio-political ideals in ancient China, see Alan Thrasher, "The Role of Music in Chinese Culture", *World of Music*, Vol. 37, No. 1 (1985), p. 5.

[12] Ellen R. Judd, "Revolutionary Drama and Song in the Jiangxi Soviet", *Modern China*, Vol. 9, No. 1 (1983), p. 129.

[13] For a discussion of Confucius and the arts, see Siu-chi Huang, "Musical Art in Early Confucian Philosophy", *Philosophy East and West*, Vol. 13, (1963), pp. 49-59. Allan Thrasher has also highlighted the philosophical concerns with music and the regulation of pitch that are prevalent in Confucian texts, see Thrasher "China" in Helen Myers ed., *Ethnomusicology: Historical and Regional Studies*. *The New Grove Handbooks in Music* (London: Macmillan, 1993), pp. 311-44.

[14] For a general study of the diversity of musical ideas in traditional China, see K. J. DeWoskin, *A Song for One or Two: Music and the Concept of Art in Early China* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1982). For a detailed study of musical aesthetics that is not conducive to Confucian line of

been the dominant feature of traditional Chinese musical thought. Given the Chinese emphasis on the social and political functions of music, it is not surprising to see that starting from the late Qing, discourses on music often emerged as an integral part of larger discourses on China's modernity. Historians of modern Chinese history and literature have written a great deal about the importance of literature and arts in China's transition from tradition to modernity during the transitional period of 1890-1911.[15] Little attention, however, has been paid to the ways music was used by reformers such as Liang Qichao 梁啓超 (1873-1929) and hundreds of lesser figures in the same period to advance their reformist, or revolutionary ideals.

An examination of how the reformers and revolutionaries used Western music in the context of China's modern history will not only illuminate the dynamics of arts and practical utility but also provide insights into the historical and sociological significance of Western music in China's transition from tradition to modernity. Their examination also helps deepen our understanding of the issue of the politicisation of music in China, a theme favoured by some Western scholars of Chinese music.[16] Through discussing the musical ideas and writings of Chinese students in Japan, I hope to penetrate beneath the discursive surface of any politics and music dichotomy and seek answers to the more complex questions of how and why Western musical values were appropriated, why one sort of music was preferred

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utilitarian thinking, see Ronald Egan, "The Controversy over Music and 'Sadness' and Changing Conceptions of the *Qin* in Middle Period China", *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, Vol. 57, No. 1 (1998), pp. 5-66. For a study of China's multifaceted folk music cultures outside the puritanical Confucian tradition, see Mu Yang, "Erotic Musical Activity in Multiethnic China", *Ethnomusicology* Vol. 54, No. 2 (1998), pp. 199-264.

[15] For a succinct discussion of the importance of literature in China's search for modernity, see Kirk A. Denton, "General Introduction" in Denton ed., *Modern Chinese Literary Thought*: *Writings on Literature,* 1893 - 1945 (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996), pp. 1-61.

[16] Richard Kraus, *Pianos and Politics in China: Middle-Class Ambitions and the Struggle over Western Music* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989); Andrew Jones, *Like a Knife: Ideology and Genre in Contemporary Chinese Popular Music* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1992); and

to another, what kind of limits were placed on that appropriation, to what extent the limits were conditioned by traditional musical and philosophical values and in what way they were the result of the imperatives of China's socio-historical situation.

For years the construction of Chinese musical modernity has been viewed as a march toward Westernisation.[17] To be sure, some Chinese intellectuals did want to reform Chinese music along Western lines at various times and advocated a wholesale Westernisation of Chinese music.[18] Yet to overemphasise this line of interpretation could underestimate the creative agency of the Chinese intellectuals who appropriated elements of Western music and reinvented them in new contexts. This impact-and-response paradigm also tends to focus more on the impact of the Western musical values on China's musical modernity without reflecting critically on the role of tradition in the same process. This paradigm tends to simplify the complex process to suit its theoretical assumptions.

In fact, in China's search for musical modernity, tradition played an important role. Those who argued for the necessity of maintaining Chinese musical tradition were by no means in the minority. Understandably included in this group were those who had a deep love for Chinese culture and had extended exposure to traditional

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Barbara Mittler's *Dangerous Tunes: The Politics of Music in Hong Kong, Taiwan, and the PRC Since 1949* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1998) are examples of this kind of approach.

[17] This point of view is most forcefully expressed in Liu Ching-chih, *Zhongguo xinyinyue shi lun*中國新音樂史論 (A Critical Study of the History of New Music in China) (Taipei: Yinyue shidai, 1998), pp. 2-23.

[18] As far as I am aware, only two Chinese intellectuals entertained the idea of wholesale westernisation of Chinese music. These were the music aesthete Liao Shangguo廖尚果 (1893-1959), better known as Qingzhu青主, and Ou Manlang欧漫郎. But Liao's stress on the universality of Western music was as much a reflection of his aversion to the political use of music by the Left-Wing musicians as an overt advocacy of Westernisation of Chinese music. See Tian Qing田青, "Jin zai yinyue zhong de linghun – jianping Qing Zhude meixue guan" 浸在音樂中的靈魂——兼評青主的美學觀 (A Soul Soaked in Music: On the Aesthetic Ideas of Qingzhu), *Renmin Yinyue*人民音樂 (People's Music), No. 10 (1983), pp. 42-45. For a study of Qingzhu's musical aesthetics, see Cai Zhongde蔡仲德, "Qingzhu yinyue meixue sixiang shuping" 青主音樂美学思想述评 (On Qingzhu's Thoughts on Musical Aestheticism), *Zhongguo yinyue xue*中國音樂学(Musicology in China), No. 3 (1995), pp. 79-96. For a study of

Chinese music. But surprisingly most scholars who had been abroad and had first-hand experience with Western music, such as Wang Guangqi, Huang Zi 黄自and, to a certain extent, Xiao Youmei萧友梅, were also in favour of creating a truly Chinese national music. A close scrutiny of writings by Shen Xingong沈心工, Zeng Zhimin 曾志忞and Li Shutong 李叔同on musical modernity and the writings of the missionaries at the turn of the twentieth century reveals that the Westernisation of Chinese music was by no means a linear process but full of twists and turns. Nor was the impact of Western music evenly felt. By and large, Western music was confined to major urban centres and coastal cities. Indigenous Chinese musical genres, on the other hand, remained largely unaffected by Western music and enjoyed by the majority of Chinese living in rural China.[19]

In recent years, the subject of cross-cultural musical interactions has been much talked about by Western researchers. But most musicologists focus on discerning the influence of non-Western music on Western art music or vice versa.[20] Although ethnomusicologists have done much work to explicate the problems and processes of cross-cultural musical interactions, their attention, as illustrated in the works of Bruno Nettl, Margaret Kartomi, and Amnon Shiloah and Erik Cohen, is mainly to the impact of Western music on indigenous cultures and the various ways in which non-Western societies responded to it.[21] One of the themes I explore in this thesis is how some

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Chinese intellectuals' effort in reforming Chinese music along Western lines, see Gerlinde Gild, "Early 20th Century 'Reforms' in Chinese Music", *Chime,* Nos. 12-13 (Spring/Autumn 1998), pp. 117-23.

[19] See Stephen Jones, *Folk Music of China: Living Instrumental Traditions* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995).

[20] See Chou Wen-chung, "Asian Concepts and Twentieth-Century Western Composers", *The Musical Quarterly,* Vol. 57, No. 2 (1971), pp. 211-29. Also his "Asian and Western Music: Influence or Confluence?", *Asian Culture Quarterly*, No. 5 (1977), pp. 60-66. Mervyn Cook, *Britten and the Far East: Asian Influences in the Music of Benjamin Britten* (Reochester, N.Y.: Boydell and Breyer Press, 1996); Richard Mueller, "Bali, Tabuh-Tabuhan, and Colin McPhee's Method of Intercultural Composition", *Journal of Musicological Research*, No. 10 (1991), pp. 127-75.

[21] Bruno Nettl, "Some Aspects of the History of World Music in the Twentieth Century: Questions, Problems, and Concepts", *Ethnomusicology*, Vol. 20, No. 1 (1978), pp. 123-36; Bruno Nettl,*The*

Christian missionaries, as carriers of Western musical culture, were conditioned by their pragmatism and chose to respond to the needs of their converts by either appropriating indigenous musical traditions or working toward a sinification of Western knowledge in their mission work. Instead of focusing on the multiple ways in which Western music shaped musical developments in China, I discuss the musical strategies some missionaries developed and delineate the ways in which they made use of native materials for the sake of Christianising the Chinese.

Historians of modern China have written at length on the issue of iconoclasm in China's struggle for modernisation. Some argue that May Fourth marked a point of no return between tradition and modernity, between Western inspired solutions to China's dilemmas and the once universal truth claims of Confucianism.[22] Others maintain that Confucianism, as a set of humanistic values as opposed to social institutions, was far from being dead and buried and still had a positive role to play in China's modernisation process.[23] The cases examined in this thesis certainly cast doubt about the wisdom of polarising Confucianism and China's search for modernity. They suggest that the construction of Chinese musical modernity as a fundamental

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Western Impact on World Music: Change, Adaptation, and Survival (New York: Schirmer Books, 1985). Margaret Kartomi, "The Process and Results of Musical Cultural Contact: A Discussion of Terminology and Concepts", *Ethnomusicology*, Vol. 25, No. 2 (1981), pp. 227-50. Amnon Shiloah and Erik Cohen, "The Dynamics of Change in Jewish Oriental Ethnic Music in Israel", *Ethnomusicology,* Vol. 27 (1983), pp. 227-49.

[22] See Joseph R. Levenson, *Confucian China and Its Modern Fate*: *A Trilogy* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1958-1965); Levenson, *Liang Ch'i-ch'ao and the Mind of Modern China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1970), and Yű-sheng Lin, *The Crisis of Chinese Consciousness: Radical Antitraditionalism in the May Fourth Era* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1978).

[23] Tang Junyi, Mou Zongsan, and Xu Fuguan, who argued in the early 1950s that the humanistic values of Confucianism should be separated from those traditional institutional patterns blocking modernisation. The Confucian humanistic values, they argued, "remained for a society that required not only modernisation but also an integrated spiritual and social life." See Thomas A. Metzger and Ramon H. Myers "Sinological Shadows: The State of Modern China Studies in the U.S." in *Methodological Issues in Chinese Studies,* edited by Amy A. Wilson, Sidney L. Greenblatt, and Richard W. Wilson (New York: Praeger, 1983), p. 19. Also, Donald C. Price, *Russia and the Roots of the Chinese Revolution* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1974); Guy S. Alitto, *The Last Confucian: Liang Shu-ming and the Chinese Dilemma of Modernity* (Berkeley: The University of California Press, 1979) and especially, Thomas A. Metzger, *Escape from Predicament*: *Neo-Confucianism and China's Evolving Political Culture* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1977).

rupture with tradition is a simplification of a complex and multifarious process. By examining the ways in which Chinese reformers such as Liang Qichao and revolutionaries used music to realise their social and political ideals, I will argue that while embodying salient characteristics of typical Chinese intellectuals at the turn of the twentieth century, these Chinese promoters of Western music demonstrated consistently their deep indebtedness to China's traditional culture. More specifically, I wish to demonstrate that the reason for Chinese adoption of certain types of Western music was in no small measure due to their compatibility with the Confucian moral and ethical notion of music.

An investigation of early efforts by Chinese reformers to appropriate aspects of Western music in order to rework China's own indigenous musical traditions affords us a fresh insight into the issues of tradition versus modernity. All early Chinese proponents of Western music shared the fundamental Confucian belief that culture was at the heart of all changes and a change of culture would necessitate a total transformation of society. Take, for example, Wang Guangqi's assertion that China's future prosperity and rejuvenation was predicated upon a reawakening of the Confucian ideals of *li* 禮 (propriety) and *yue* 樂 (music) in the minds of the Chinese population and Zheng Jinwen's 鄭覲文 effort to revive Chinese traditional music. Following Joseph Levenson's contention, we might simply dismiss this theory as a conservative's sentimental attachment to a set of values that has lost its relevance in modern society.[24] Yet if we probe the circumstances under which they made this appeal and the processes through which this ideal was translated into concrete actions, we would not dismiss it as a mere reflection of Chinese intellectuals' idiosyncrasy.

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[24] Joseph R. Levenson, *Confucian China and Its Modern Fate* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1958), pp. XV-XVI.

In recent years, some scholars in Chinese studies in the United States, Europe and China have begun to cast doubt about the wisdom of identifying the May Fourth Movement as a crucial historical junction in China's quest for modernity.[25] In their efforts to unseat the centrality of May Fourth, they have turned to the late Qing for signs of Chinese modernity. For instance, David Der-wei Wang, in his study of late Qing novels, argues that instead of being a "prelude" to the May Fourth New Culture, late Qing fiction represented "a crucial moment in which many incipient modernities competed for fulfilment."[26] Similarly, Wang Yuanhua王元化 also points out the modernist efforts of writers such as Du Yaquan杜亜泉 (1873-1923), the long-time editor of *Eastern Miscellanies* (東方雜誌).[27] My examination of the musical initiatives of the missionaries and reformers certainly reinforce these arguments.

For most of the twentieth century, Chinese scholars, including musicologists and music historians viewed Christianity with deep suspicion. As a consequence, within the parameters of modern Chinese music history the contributions of Christian missions, especially in the realm of music education, were viewed as antithetical to modern Chinese culture. The missionary cases examined here not only confirm the positive roles played by missionaries as agents of Western music but also raise questions concerning the larger issue of nationalism and mission education. Chinese music historians and musicologists have long believed that missionaries were cultural imperialists and mission schools were a fertile nursing ground for producing

[25] Theodore Huters, *Bring the World Home: Appropriating the West in Late Qing and Early Republican China* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2005).
[26] David Der-wei Wang, *Fin-de-Siècle Splendor: Repressed Modernities of Late Qing Fiction* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997), p. 21.
[27] Wang Yuanhua, *Qingyuan jinsi lu*清園近思录 (Recent Thoughts at Qinghua Campus) (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 1998), pp. 5-7.

graduates who viewed their own culture with deep contempt.[28] To a certain extent, it was true that graduates of mission schools were admirers of things Western as a result of their missionary indoctrinations.[29] Yet missionaries, as will be illustrated in the cases of Julia B. Mateer and the Richards, were the earliest to fuse elements of Western music with indigenous musical traditions. In terms of utilising "national form" (*minzu xingshi*民族形式), an often hotly debated issue in the arts in China, to serve utilitarian purposes, the missionaries in the nineteenth century, not Communist propagandists in the 1930s and 1940s, were the pioneers.[30]

Review of the Literature

In recent years the study of Chinese Christianity and China missions has attracted considerable interest both in China and the West.[31] Yet, compared to the voluminous writings on the pioneering efforts made by Christian missionaries in introducing Western ideas, values, and institutions to China, little has been written in English on the work of Western missionaries in transmitting Western music in China.

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[28] Li Chucai李楚材ed., *Diguozhuyi qinHua jiaoyushi ziliao*: *Jiaohui jiaoyu*帝國主義侵華教育史資料-教會教育(Historical Material on Imperialist Aggression in China: Mission Education) (Beijing: Jiaoyu kexue chubanshe, 1987).

[29] Y. C. Wang in *Chinese Intellectuals and the West, 1872-1949* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1966) emphasises the negative effect of Western (including missionary) education in producing an "elite unconnected with the life surrounding them" and "the alienation of the students from their native culture and surrounding life." (p. 377).

[30] In addition to numerous studies done in China, the Chinese communists' use of national form has been examined by a number of Western scholars. See David Holm, *Art and Ideology in Revolutionary China* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991); Ellen R. Judd, "New Yangge: The Case of 'A Worthy Sister-in-Law", *CHINOPERL Papers*, No. 10 (1981), pp. 167-86; "Revolutionary Drama and Song in the Jiangxi Soviet", *Modern China*, Vol. 9, No. 1 (1983), pp. 127-60; and Hung Chang-tai, "The Politics of Songs: Myths and Symbols in the Chinese Communist War Music", *Modern Asian Studies*, Vol. 30, No. 4 (1996), pp. 901-30.

[31] See Daniel H. Bays ed., *Christianity in China: From the Eighteenth Century to the Present* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996). For a brief review of works published in China in recent years, see Shen Dingping and Zhu Weifang, "Western Missionary Influence on the People's Republic of China: A Survey of Chinese Scholarly Opinion between 1980 and 1990", *International Bulletin of Missionary Research*, Vol. 22, Issue 4 (October 1998), pp. 154-58. For a brief review of recent works on Christian missionaries and China's search for modernity, see Jessie G. Lutz, "Chinese Christianity and China Missions: Works Published Since 1970", *International Bulletin of Missionary Research*, Vol. 20, No. 3 (1996), pp. 98-105.

Although completed over four decades ago David Sheng's unpublished doctoral thesis, "A Study of the Indigenous Elements in Chinese Christian Hymnody" (DMA, University of Southern California, 1964), remains the most comprehensive treatment of Protestant missionaries and their appropriation of indigenous Chinese literary and musical elements in their mission work. Sheng's work, however, does not cover Chinese reformers; nor does it provide a contextual analysis of how indigenous elements were used in the actual working of the Christian mission. Vernon Charter and Jean DeBernardi, in a recently published article, have similarly explored "the processes and products of culture contact" by focusing on the development of a single musical genre, the Chinese Christian hymn.[32] Like Sheng, Charter and DeBermardi have traced the origins and development of Chinese Christian hymnody from the mid-nineteenth century to the publication of *Hymns of Universal Praise* (*Putian songzan* 普天頌讚) in 1936 with a detailed analysis of the Protestant missionaries' efforts on a Chinese Christian hymnody. But unlike Sheng, whose focus is to identify "indigenous elements" in the hymns produced by Western missionaries and Chinese Christians, Charter and DeBernardi's primary interest is in the contexts, agents, and the processes of musical and cultural synthesis. While their work gives a new perspective on the history of Christian liturgical music in China, representing a new level of theoretical sophistication, it suffers, however, from a greater concentration on Western missionaries than on Chinese Christians.

Until fairly recently, scant attention has been paid in Western scholarship to Western music in China in the late Qing. However, with the recent shift in research approaches, there has been a notable increase in interest in the study of cross-cultural musical interaction in China's contact with the West. Apart from some brief accounts

[32] Vernon Charter and Jean DeBernardi, "Towards a Chinese Christian Hymnody: Processes of

by such scholars as Kuo-huang Han (Han Guohuang韓國鐄),[33] Isabel K. F. Wong,[34] and Sheila Melvin and Jindong Cai,[35] surveys of the role of Western missionaries and early Chinese reformers can be found in some recently completed doctoral theses. A good overall survey of the role of Western missionaries from 1600 to the turn of the twentieth century and a musicological study of Chinese pioneers of Western music can be found in Yongsheng Liang's doctoral dissertation entitled "Western Influence on Chinese Music in the Early Twentieth Century" (Stanford University, 1994). Taking a traditional musicological approach, Liang's treatment of the subject is meticulous and shows his familiarity with the whole history of modern Chinese music.[36] But because his focus is on "Western influence," Liang pays little attention to the agency of Chinese recipients of Western music.[37] As a result, he fails to explore the plurality of Chinese musical modernity. Liang also fails to make effort to relate modern Chinese music making and production to its socio-cultural contexts.

This inattentiveness to the socio-cultural contexts and ethos under which Chinese proponents of Western music worked characterises several recent completed doctoral dissertations in the United States and Australia. The methodologies used usually consist of inductive and deductive investigation, using historical and musicological data. Despite the pioneering role of the missionaries, most of the

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Musical and Cultural Synthesis", *Asian Music*, Vol. 29, No. 2 (Spring/Summer 1998), p. 83.

[33] Kuo-huang Han, "The Importation of Western Music to China at the Turn of the Twentieth Century" in Enrique Alberto Arias & John F. Ohl eds., *Essays in Hornour of John F. Ohl: A Compendium of American Musicology* (Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 2001), pp. 229-40.

[34] Isabel K. F. Wong, "*Geming Gequ*: Songs for the Education of the Masses" in Bonnie S. McDougall ed., *Popular Chinese Literature and Performing Arts in the People's Republic of China 1949-1979* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), pp. 112-43.

[35] Sheila Melvin and Jindong Cai, *Rhapsody in Red: How Western Classical Music Became Chinese* (New York: Algora Publishing, 2004).

[36] Liang Yongsheng, a conservatory-trained pianist in China before becoming a music historian, was one of the first MA students admitted by the Chinese Arts Academy (Zhongguo yishu yanjiuyuan 中國藝術研究院) in Beijing in the late 1970s.

[37] For example, Liang pays little attention to the processes by which Chinese musicians appropriated and deployed certain forms and techniques of Western music to re-work China's indigenous musical traditions for the purposes of nation-building and social and cultural transformation.

theses begin with the 1911 Revolution and then concentrate on the period from the May Fourth Movement in 1919 to the founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949. As far as research procedure is concerned, the theses usually follow the same pattern: a brief introductory note on the social, cultural and political background of the period concerned; a biographical sketch on the life of the composer concerned; and finally a musicological analysis of his representative works. The analysis is normally preoccupied with delineating the following three basic elements: national characteristics embodied in the works; relationships between the music and the text; and Western compositional techniques used. Godwin Yuen, for example, in his study of "Stylistic Development in Chinese Revolutionary Songs", covers the period from 1919-1940, roughly the same time span covered by Liang.[38] Instead of tracing the origins of Western music in China, Yuen discusses at considerable length the historical and stylistic development of Chinese music prior to the rise of Western musical influence in the latter part of the nineteenth century. Yuen's main chapters are devoted to discussing songs produced after the May Fourth Movement, especially the revolutionary songs written by Nie Er 聶耳 (1912-1935) and Xian Xinghai冼星海 (1905-1945) in the 1930s. As often in such studies, Yuen also includes some textual and musical analysis of the songs produced by representative Chinese school-song songwriters such as Shen Xingong, Li Shutong and Zeng Zhimin. Although Yuen emphasises that his thesis "is essentially a study in music history, and as such is part of the wider field of cultural history",[39] he ignores almost entirely the role that the China missionaries played in introducing hymn-singing - the predecessor of the songs he focuses on - in China. Nor does he seem to be mindful of Li Shutong's extensive

[38] Godwin Yuen, "Stylistic Development in Chinese Revolutionary Songs, 1919-1940" (Ph.D. thesis, Griffith University, 1988).
[39] Yuen, p. 6.

appropriation of Christian hymn tunes. Similarly, Nancy Hao-ming Chao, in her study of "Twentieth Century Chinese Vocal Music", also touches upon the social and political significance of the school song (*xuetang yuege*學堂樂歌) in the late Qing and early Republican periods. But the bulk of her dissertation is devoted to a historical and musicological study of the songs written by the so-called the first generation of Chinese art song writers such as Zhao Yuanren趙元任 (Y. R. Chao, 1892-1988) and Huang Zi (1904-1938).[40] Like Yuen, Chao completely ignores the work of the missionaries in introducing Western-style singing in China in spite of her focus on modern songs.

One exception is Peter Micic's more recently completed doctoral thesis.[41] Micic has managed to incorporate much of recent Chinese scholarship on the contributions of Christian missionaries in transmitting Western music to China. But Micic's primary focus is on the significance of the school song in promoting political and social reform in China during its "transitional period" (1890-1911) and the early years of the Republic. The study of cross-cultural music interactions and the use of music in Christian missions are outside the scope of Micic's thesis. Starting from postmodernist premises, Andrew F. Jones, in his study of media culture and colonial modernity in China, tries to conceptualise modernization as a complex and multi-faceted process.[42] Although focusing mainly on the "modern songs" (*shidai qu*時代曲) of Li Jinhui黎锦暉 (1891-1967) of the 1920s and 1930s with little mention of the

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[40] Nancy Hao-ming Chao, "Twentieth Century Chinese Vocal Music with Particular Reference to Its Development and Nationalistic Characteristics from the May Fourth Movement (1919) to 1945" (PhD. diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 1995).
[41] Peter Micic, "School Songs and Modernity in Late Qing and Early Republican China" (PhD thesis, Monash University, 1999).
[42] Andrew F. Jones' "Popular Music and Colonial Modernity in China, 1900-1937" (PhD thesis, University of California, Berkeley, 1997). The thesis has now been turned into a book entitled *Yellow Music*: *Media Culture and Colonial Modernity in the Chinese Jazz Age* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2001).

missionaries, Jones' work provides a thought-provoking analysis of the ways in which music and discourse on music were linked to the nation-building project of the May Fourth intellectuals and offers a reassessment of both modern Chinese cultural history and recent academic explanations on questions of post-coloniality and transnational culture.

In the People's Republic of China, because of the inextricable connection between music and politics in the twentieth century, the study of "New Music", that is, Europeanised music, was politically sensitive, requiring careful handling. The result was that throughout the Maoist years scholarly attention was directed to historical and stylistic studies of various forms of traditional Chinese music, textual and theoretical analyses of ancient Chinese writings on music, and publications of commemorative volumes, writings, and compositions of such revolutionary composers as Nie Er, Xian Xinghai, Zhang Shu 張曙 (1909-1938) and Liu Tianhua 劉天華 (1895-1932). As such, modern Chinese music could hardly be regarded as a promising area for critical scholarship.

The study of Christian missionaries, viewed as agents of Western imperialism, like that of Christianity in China, was regarded as an even riskier area, and consequently, hardly attracted any attention in mainland Chinese academic circles. In the 1980s, however, with the liberalisation within China, the situation began to change. The result was a sudden upsurge of scholarly activity with an accompanying new vitality in musical criticism and history. In recent years, as Chinese scholars have become more objective in their evaluation of the impact of Christianity on modern China, historians of Chinese music and musicologists also begin to call attention to the contributions made by missionaries in transmitting aspects of Western musical culture to China and in China's search for musical modernity. As far as Sino-

Western musical exchanges are concerned, in the decade between 1980 and 1990, some five articles were published in music journals in China. While some scholars singled out the work of particular missionaries for special appraisal,[43] others were more circumspect in their acknowledgement of the overall impact of the missionary contributions.[44] The publications of three books on musical exchanges between China and the rest of the world in the 1990s signalled the emergence of Sino-Western musical contact as an appropriate field of study.[45] Of these three books, Tao Yabing's 陶亚兵*ZhongXi yinyue jiaoliu shigao* 中西音樂交流史稿 (A Draft History of Musical Intercourse between China and the West) deserves a special mention. Although hastily published with little editorial care and no cross-referencing, Tao's book, a virtual reprint of his doctoral dissertation submitted to the Central Conservatory of Music in Beijing in 1992, provides the first comprehensive survey of historical materials of musical exchange between China and the Western World from the Tang dynasty to 1919. Although by no means designed as an exclusive treatment of Western music and the Christian mission, Tao devotes the bulk of his volume to an

[43] Yin Falu 阴法鲁, "Limadou and Zhouzhou jiaohui yinyue zhi dong chuan" 利瑪竇与歐洲教會音樂之東傳 (Mettteo Ricci and the Eastward Spread of European Church Music), *Yinyue yanjiu*音樂研究 (Music Research) , No. 2 (1982), pp. 87-90, 103; Liu Qi劉奇, "Li Timotai fufu yu *Xiao Shipu*" 李提摩太夫婦与《小詩譜》 (Mr and Mrs Richard and *The Tune-Book in Chinese Notation*), *Yinyue yanjiu*, No. 1 (1988), pp. 22-27; Wang Zhenya王震亚, "Xiyang yueli shuru tanyuan" 西洋樂理輸入探源 (An Investigation of the Origins of Western Musical Theory in China), *Yinyue yanjiu*, No. 4 (1990), pp. 58-66.

[44] Wang Rou王柔, "Xiyang yinyue chuanru Zhongguo kao" 西洋音樂傳入中國考 (An Investigation of the Introduction of Western Music into China), *Yinyue yanjiu*, No. 2 (1982), pp. 91-4; Liu Qi, "Zhongguo gudai chuanru de Jidu jiaohui yinyue tanxun" 中國古代傳入的基督教會音樂探寻 (An Investigation of Christian Music Transmitted into China during Ancient Times), *Yinyue Yishu*音樂藝術 (Musical Art), No. 1 (1987), pp. 21-7; Xi Zhenguan席臻贯, "Cong Kangxi huangdi de yinyue huodong kan *Lülü zhengyi*" 从康熙皇帝的音樂活动看《律吕正義》(A Study of the *Lülü zhengyi* in Conjunction with the Musical Activities of the Kangxi Empeor), *Yinyue yanjiu*, No. 3 (1988), pp. 37-47.

[45] Tao Yabing陶亚兵, *ZhongXi yinyue jiaoliu shigao* 中西音樂交流史稿 (A Draft History of Musical Intercourse between China and the West) (Beijing: Zhongguo da baike quanshu chubanshe, 1994). Feng Wenci冯文慈, *Zhongwai yinyue jiaoliushi* 中外音樂交流史 (A History of Musical Exchange between China and Foreign Countries) (Changsha: Hunan jiaoyu chubanshe, 1998). Zhang Qian張前,

examination of the musical writings and music-related activities of Catholic and Protestant missionaries. In surveying the early evidence of Western music in China, Tao has assembled a large amount of previously scattered materials and incorporated many of the scholarly findings on the musical activities of the Catholic Jesuits by such renowned Chinese scholars as Wu Xiangxiang吴相湘 and the Taiwan-based Catholic historian Fang Hao方豪. Tao has also benefited greatly from of the pioneering works on Protestant missionaries, Chinese reformers and the early introduction of Western music in China by the American-based Han Guohuang (Kuo-huang Han) and the writings of his supervisor Liao Fushu廖輔叔. As a reference work on Sino-Western musical exchange, Tao's book is indispensable. Yet, as might be expected in a pioneering study, the book is not without defects. Most of these stem from a complete reliance on Chinese and Western sources only available in Chinese translation.

The mid 1990s also saw the publications of a number of books on musical education in China. As far as the current thesis is concerned, *Zhonguo jinxiandai xuexiao yinyue jiaoyu*中國近現代學校音樂教育, 1840-1949 (School Musical Education in Modern China)[46] and *Zhongguo jinxiandai yinyue jiaoyushi jinian*中國近現代音樂教育史纪年 (A Chronology of Musical Education in Modern China: 1840-1989) are most useful.[47] The former, a monograph in a series of books on arts education published under the aegis of the Ministry of Education, devotes a chapter to a historical survey and critical evaluation of music education in mission schools of all

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Zhong-Ri yinyue jiaoliushi 中日音樂交流史 (A History of Musical Exchanges between China and Japan) (Beijing: Renmin yinyue chubanshe, 1999).

[46] This book was published by the Shanghai Educational Publishing House in 1996 under the general editorship Wu Yongyi伍雍谊. Hereafter cited as *YYJY*.

[47] Sun Ji'nan孫繼南, *Zhongguo jinxiandai yinyue jiaoyueshi jinian*, 1840-1989 中國近現代音樂教育史纪年(Jinan: Shandong youyi chubanshe, 2000). Hereafter cited as *YYJN*.

levels from the advent of Protestant missionaries in China in the early 1800s to the eve of the second Sino-Japanese War in 1937. In a recently published article, Wang Pu 汪樸also acknowledges the important role of the Christian missionaries in the beginnings of music education in China.[48]

Research on Chinese reformers involved in the transmission of Western music in China is scarce, although mentions of Liang Qichao梁啓超, Zhang Zhidong張之洞, and Yuan Shikai袁世凱 can be found in the works of Han Guohuang, Liu Ching-chi and most of the writings by mainland-based historians of modern Chinese music. As far as I am aware, Zhang Jingwei张静蔚, writing under the penname Da wei達威, was the first to write a eulogistic article evaluating Liang Qichao's musical involvements.[49] Zhang was also one of the first to study with vigour the relationship between the rise of modern musical thought and the late Qing reforms. In spite of the rigid class theory of Marxism, his 1985 article on musical "thought-tides" (*sichao*思潮) leading to the May Fourth New Culture Movement remains the most sophisticated analysis in the critical study of Chinese musical thought to date.[50]

Up to the early 1980s, the lives and works of the early Chinese promoters of Western music were either overlooked or misinterpreted in mainland China, thanks largely to their non-proletarian backgrounds. Zeng Zhimin and Xiao Youmei in particular have not fared well. For years they have been regarded as a kind of "damaged goods". For instance, in the first edition of Wang Yuhe's influential book

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[48] Wang Pu汪樸, "Qingmo Minchu yuegeke zhi xingqi queli jingguo" 清末民初樂歌课之兴起确立經過 (The Introduction and Establishment of Singing Lessons in Schools during the Late Qing and Early Republican Era), *Zhongguo yinyue xue,* No.1 (1997), pp. 57-73

[49] Da Wei達威, "Liang Qichao, Zeng Zhimin dui jindai yinyue wenhua de gongxian" 梁啓超, 曾志忞对近代音樂文化的貢献 (Liang Qichao and Zeng Zhimin's Contributions to the Modern Musical Culture of China), *Renmin yinyue*, No. 2 (1983), pp. 39-41.

[50] Zhang Jingwei, "Jindai Zhongguo yinyue sichao" 近代中國音樂思潮 (Thought Tides of Modern Chinese Music), *Yinyue yanjiu*, No. 4 (1985), pp. 77-92.

on the history of modern Chinese music, Zeng Zhimin was not even mentioned.[51] Xiao Youmei, along with Wang Guangqi, the social activist turned musicologist, Zhao Yuanren, the linguist and composer of Chinese art songs, and Liao Shangguo廖尚果 (1983-1959), the music aesthete better known by his pen name Qingzhu青主, were categorised as "bourgeois reformist musicians".[52] These reformers of Chinese music, according to Wang, were too heavily tainted with the remnants of feudalism and too polluted by bourgeois values to see the correct path. This verdict was not necessarily Wang's own but an assessment carefully made by a group of music historians under strict ideological guidelines.[53] These musicians were further marginalized by the socialist drive in the 1950s and 1960s to promote such revolutionary composers as Nie Er and Xian Xinghai.

As historians on the mainland began to free themselves from the shackles of socialist ideology in the mid-1980s, tentative discussions of the historical and scholarly importance of the early promoters of Western music began to emerge. This was evidenced by the publication of a spate of biographical sketches and evaluative articles on the contributions of Shen Xingong, Zeng Zhimin, Li Shutong and Xiao Youmei. In the case of Xiao Youmei, an anthology of his writings on music, a collection of reminiscences in his memory, and a biography were published in the early 1990s.[54] As more data were collected and collated on their lives and work,

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[51] Wang Yuhe汪毓和, *Zhongguo jinxiandai yinyue shi* 中國近現代音樂史 (History of Modern Chinese Music) (Beijing: Renmin yinyue chubanshe, 1984).

[52] Wang Yuhe, pp. 58-75, 100-110. Although officially published in 1984, this book, printed internally, had been used as a textbook at the Central Conservatory of Music since 1961. Since its reissue in 1991, it has gone through at least six printings and has been widely used as a textbook by conservatories of music and music departments in universities across the country.

[53] See Dai Penghai戴鹏海, "'Chongxie yinyueshi': yige mingan er you bude bushuo de huati" 重写音樂史:一个敏感而又不得不说的話題 ('Re-Writing Musical History': A Sensitive Topic That Has to be Discussed), *Yinyue yishu*, No.1 (2001), pp. 68-69.

[54] Chen Lingqun陳聆群, Qi Yuyi齐毓怡, Dai Penghai, eds., *Xiao Youmei yinyue wenji*萧友梅音樂文集 (Collected Musical Writings of Xiao Youmei) (Shanghai: Shanghai yinyue chubanshe, 1990); Dai Penghai 戴鹏海and Huang Xűdong黄旭東eds., *Xiao Youmei jinian wenji*萧友梅纪念文集 (Collected

scholars began to challenge the official party line and view early advocates of Western music more objectively. As a result, not only was their status as pioneers of Western music in China and modernisers of Chinese music acknowledged, but their significance in the development of musical education in China's modern schools was also assessed. However, despite their efforts to rectify the earlier ideological bias conceptually, most mainland Chinese scholars are hampered methodologically by a rather narrow definition of what they regard as proper musicological investigation. Strict adherence to their respective disciplines tends to prevent them from venturing into other related fields. Consequently reference to social and cultural issues are hardly made, as in their view they are outside the immediate concern of music.[55] Censorship, either imposed from the authorities or out of other considerations, also has a negative impact on their research.[56]

A Note on Sources

The most important sources for this thesis are of course the writings of the missionaries and reformers concerned. Hymnbooks and teaching manuals produced by missionaries are the main sources of information on music teaching in mission schools. The most important source of information on missionary activities in China is the missionary monthly, *The Chinese Recorder*. First published under the title *The Missionary Recorder* in 1867 by the Protestant missionaries in Fuzhou "in an effort to

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reminiscences of Xiao Youmei) (Shanghai: Shanghai yinyue chubanshe,1993); Liao Fushu廖辅叔, *Xiao Youmei zhuan*萧友梅傳 (A Biography of Xiao Youmei) (Hangzhou: Zhejiang meishu chubanshe, 1993).

[55] Jonathan Stock, *Musical Creativity in Twentieth-Century China: Abing, His Music, and Its Changing Meanings* (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 1996), p. 8.

[56] On this issue, see Yang Mu, "Academic Ignorance or Political Taboo: Some Issues in China's Study of Its Folk Song Culture", *Ethnomusicology,* Vol. 38, No. 2 (1994), pp. 303-20.

keep their colleagues informed about their activities,"[57] *The Chinese Recorder* was the only English-language publication to last for seventy-two years. Besides serving as a link between the various missions, it provided information about individual missionaries and mission activities, recounting their progress on evangelical, educational, medical, and social fronts. Contextual and biographical information about individual missionaries are culled from autobiographies, memoirs and eulogies and biographies. Helen S. C. Nevius' 1891 reminiscences of her life in China in the 1850s, for example, provided me with a rare glimpse of music teaching in mission schools in Ningbo.[58] Robert M. Mateer's account of his sister-in-law helped me understand the unique conditions under which Julia B. Mateer taught Chinese boys the rudiments of Western music and the ways in which her work related to the social ethos of the time.[59] My case studies of Julia Mateer and the Richards are based principally on the two teaching manuals they wrote in Chinese, namely *Sheng shi pu* 聖詩譜and *Xiao shipu*小詩譜respectively.[60]

Most of the early Chinese writings on school music are collected in *Zhongguo jindai yinyue shiliao huibian* 中國近代音樂史料彙编 (Source Materials on the History of Modern Chinese Music) (Beijing: Renmin yinyue chubanshe, 1996), *Sousuo lishi* 搜索歷史 (Searching History) (Shanghai: Shanghai yinyue xueyuan chubanshe, 2004), both edited by Zhang Jingwei, and *Zhongguo jinxiandai xuexiao yinyue jiaoyu wenxuan* 中國近現代學校音樂教育文选 (Selected Writings on School Music in the History of Modern China) (Shanghai: Shanghai jiaoyu chubanshe, 2000)

[57] Kathleen L. Lodwick, *The Chinese Recorder Index: A Guide to Christian Missions in Asia, 1867-1941* (Wilmington, DE: Scholarly Resources, 1986), Vol. 1, p. Xi.
[58] Helen S. C. Nevius, *Our Life in China* (New York: Hurst and Company, 1891).
[59] Robert McCheyne Mateer, *Character-building in China*: *The Life of Julia Brown Mateer* (New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1911).

edited by Yu Yuzi 俞玉滋 and Zhang Yuan 張援. But I have used them with caution, preferring to check and supplement them with materials from contemporary periodicals, autobiographies, and even pictorials. The most useful periodicals for my purposes are those published in Japan by Liang Qichao and Chinese students such as *Xinmin congbao* 新民叢報 (New People's Miscellany), *Zhejiangchao* 浙江潮 (Tide of Zhejiang) and *Jiangsu* 江蘇. I have also examined contemporary newspapers in Shanghai, Beijing, Tianjin and elsewhere, as well music journals published before 1949, both scholarly and popular. Prominent among these is the *Shenbao* 申報 newspaper published in Shanghai (1872-1949).

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[60] Julia Mateer (狄就烈), *Sheng shipu* 聖詩譜 (Principles of Vocal Music and Tune Book) (Shanghai: Meihua shuguan, 1907). Mary Richard (李提摩太夫人), *Xiao shipu*小詩譜 (Tune-book in Chinese Notation) 2nd edition (Shanghai: Society for the Diffusion of Christian and General Knowledge, 1901).

CHAPTER ONE

THE CATHOLIC PRELUDE

Next to the Word of God, only music deserves being extolled as the mistress and governess of the feelings of the human heart. Martin Luther (1538)[1]

The history of modern China is closely intertwined with the global expansion of Christianity.[2] The Protestant movement of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in particular, as some scholars have convincingly argued, had played an important part in China's search for modernity.[3] No other agents of Western influence managed to achieve the kind of penetration and geographical distribution in China as did the China missionaries.[4] In a recent survey of works published on Chinese Christianity and China Mission, the veteran mission historian Jessie G. Lutz made the following remarks:

> However unrepresentative missionaries in China might be of their compatriots at home, they represented the West for many Chinese. Missionaries, furthermore, came to China intent on effecting change. They brought heterodox religious doctrines and social values to China; increasingly, they became a two-way conduit for information and images of China in the West and for Western secular knowledge as well as Christian teachings in China. Although other avenues for cultural exchange opened up, missionaries remained important and available agents

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[1] Cited in Walter E. Buszin, "Luther on Music", *The Musical Quarterly*, Vol. 32, No. 1 (1946), p. 81.

[2] Rather than following the accepted Chinese scheme of periodisation, which starts with the Opium War of 1839, here the term modern China refers to China since the late Ming, as used in Jonathan D. Spence's *The Search for Modern China* (New York & London: W. W. Norton & Company, 1990).

[3] The roles played by Christian missionaries in China's search for modernity have been studied by a number of scholars both in China and abroad. For recent studies in Chinese, see Gu Changsheng 顾長聲, *Chuanjiaoshi yu jindai Zhongguo* 傳教士与近代中國 (Missionaries and Modern China) (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1991); Shi Jinghuan 史静寰 and Wang Lixin 王立新, *Jidujiao jiaoyu Zhongguo zhishi fenzi* 基督教教育与中國知識分子 (Christian Education and Chinese Intellectuals) (Fuzhou: Fujian jiaoyu chubanshe, 1998). For an excellent overall survey of China missions during the nineteenth century in English, see Paul A. Cohen, "Christian Missions and Their Impact to 1900" in John K. Fairbank ed., *The Cambridge History of China* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), Vol. 10, pp. 543-90. For more recent scholarship, see Daniel H. Bays ed., *Christianity in China: From the Eighteenth Century to the Present* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996). For studies on the significance of missions in intercultural relations between China and the West, see the collection of essays contained in John K. Fairbank ed., *The Missionary Enterprise in China and America* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1974).

[4] For specific studies of missionary presence in China, see Robert E. Entenmann, "Clandestine Catholics and the State in Eighteenth-Century Sichuan", *American Asian Review*, Vol. 5, No. 3 (1987), pp. 1-45; Ralph R. Covell, *The Liberating Gospel in China: The Christian Faith Among China's Minority Peoples* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Baker Books, 1995); Murray A. Rubinstein, *The Protestant Community in Modern Taiwan: Mission, Seminary, and Church* (Armonk, N.Y.: M. E. Sharpe, 1991); Ryan Dunch, *Fuzhou Protestants and the Making of Modern China, 1857-1927* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001).

for knowledge transfer and change, eliciting both negative and positive reactions among the Chinese.[5]

Hence, a historical study of the place of Western music in China's transition from tradition to modernity must start with an investigation of the musical activities of the China missionaries. Although the focus of the present thesis is on the practical uses of Western music in China by the Protestant missionaries and Chinese reformers in late imperial China (1842- 1912), for the sake of perspective, it will be useful to review the situation of Western music before the mass influx of Europeans after the signing of the Treaty of Nanjing in 1842. By tracing the beginnings of Western music in China in relation to its Christian carriers from the Tang dynasty to the eve of the Opium War and examining the concrete ways in which music was used in the Christian enterprise, I aim to highlight the utilitarian undercurrent behind the missionary introduction of Western music.

Nestorianism and the Earliest Presence of Christian Music in China

Although records of the presence of Western music in China prior to the Opium War are few and fragmentary, it would be wrong to perpetuate the long-standing myth that China has traditionally been deeply isolationist and, as a corollary, to assume that historically China has had little musical contact with the outside world. It has been argued that China began her international musical intercourse, understandably with countries within the sphere of her influence, as early as the Zhou dynasty (c.1122-256 BC).[6] Musical contact between China and Korea was certainly frequent during the Han dynasty (206 BC –220AD) as can be seen by both textual records and archaeological

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[5] Lutz, "Chinese Christianity and China Missions", p. 104.

[6] Yang Yinliu 杨荫瀏, *Zhongguo gudai yinyue shigao* 中國古代音樂史稿 (Draft History of Ancient Chinese Music) (Beijing: Renmin yinyue chubanshe, 1980), Vol. 1, pp. 39-40.

finds.[7] During the ensuring period of almost four hundred years between the Han (206 B.C-220 A.D) and the Tang (618-907 A.D), rapid social, political and economic changes, characterised by cycles of prosperity, decay, chaos, and disunity, gave rise to a series of exciting cultural phenomena, the most obvious of which can be attributed to the introduction of Buddhism into China in the first century of the Christian era. Buddhism not only enriched Chinese people's spiritual life but also provided them with new kinds of sensual enjoyment by bringing with it the music of India. China's control over Central Asia during the two Han dynasties also made possible a flow of overland trade with the western regions. As a by-product of this communication, musical cultures of these regions were also transmitted into China, and, once introduced, modelled, adapted, transformed, and incorporated into the indigenous tradition, forming the bulk of China's musical culture. Indeed, the musics of Central Asia played such an important role in shaping China's indigenous musical tradition that nowadays most of the musical instruments used in China's national music ensemble (*minzu yuetuan* 民族樂團), as opposed to Western orchestra (*Xi yuetuan* 西樂團), are of foreign origins.[8]

Musical intercourse between China and the outside world, not surprisingly, reached its zenith during the Sui and Tang dynasties. The musical cosmopolitanism of the Sui and Tang was not only in spirit but in practice as well. This is amply evidenced by such written records found in the standard histories of the Sui and Tang, theoretical treatises on music, historical and encyclopaedic compilations, practical treatises, notes

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[7] Liao Fushu 廖輔叔, *Zhongguo gudai yinyue jianshi* 中國音樂简史(A Brief History of Ancient Chinese Music) (Beijing: Renmin yinyue chubanshe, 1964), pp. 32-3. Lee Hye-ku, "Musical Paintings in a Fourth-Century Korean Tomb", *Korea Journal* (March 1974) (translated by Robert Provine), pp. 4-14. Chao Mei-pa asserts that China's musical exchange with the West began as early as in the Han Dynasty (206 B.C.-220 A.D.) but I have not found any reliable evidence to verify his assertion; see, Chao Mei-pa, *The Yellow Bell* (Baltimore, MD, 1934), p. 51.

[8] For an excellent study of musical instruments of East Asia and their origins, see Hayashi Kenzō 林謙三, *Dong Ya yueqi kao* 東亚樂器考 (An Investigation of Musical Instruments of East Asia), translated from the Japanese by Qian Daosun 錢稻孫 (Beijing: Renmin yinyue chubanshe, 1995).

on music in memoirs and incidental musical references in poems, essays and jottings.[9] Ancient sculptures, cave paintings such as those at Dunhuang in China's northwest and musical repertoires and instruments still in use in Chinese orchestras today also testify to this unprecedented cultural cosmopolitanism. So great was the scale of musical intercourse that, according to *Sui Shu* 隋書 (Official History of the Sui):

> In the early years of the Kaihuang period (581-600) there were established seven musical groups (playing): court music, *Qingshang* 清商 (songs originating under the Han and Wei), Ko kuli (southern Manchuria and northern Korea), Indian, Parthian, and Kucha music, and *wenkang* 文康; also miscellaneous varieties: music of Kashgar, Phnom (southern Cambodia and Cochin-china), Sogdiana, Pekche (western Korea), T'u-chűeh (Turks), Silla (eastern Korea), and the State of T'ui.[10]

Not surprisingly, during the Tang dynasty Chinese people also acquired their first taste of Western music.

"In many instances, the first intensive exposure of non-Western societies to Western music", writes the eminent ethnomusicologist Bruno Nettl, "was through church music."[11] This is certainly true in the case of China. The first known evidence concerning the presence of Christian liturgical music in China is a Nestorian hymn.[12]

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[9] Tang music has been well studied by both Chinese and foreign scholars, for a study with strong historical emphasis, see Yang Yinliu, Vol. 1, pp. 191-273; Kishebe Shigeo 岸边成雄, *A Historical Study of the Music in the T'ang Dynasty* (in Japanese with a long English summary) (Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1960); for a musicological study of Tang music, see Laurence Picken *et al*., *Music From the Tang Court: Transcribed from the Original, Unpublished, Sino-Japanese Manuscripts, Together with a Survey of Relevant Historical Sources* (both Chinese and Japanese), Vols. 1-3 (London: Oxford University Press, 1981-87); Vols. 4-6 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987-97). Allan John Marett, "Hakuga's Flute-Score: A Tenth-Century Japanese Source of Tang-Music in Tablature" (Ph.D., Musicology, Cambridge University, 1976).

[10] *Sui Shu*, 15. 29b (1739 edition). This passage, with minor modification, is translated and cited in L.Carrington Goodrich and Ch'u T'ung-tsu in "Foreign Music at the Court of Sui Wen-ti", *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. 69, No. 3 (1949), p. 148. For an early study of China's musical contact with the West, see Wang Guangqi, "Musikalische Beziehungen zwischen China und dem Westen im Laufe der Jahrtausende" (The Musical Intercourse of China and the West during the Last Millennia) in W. Heffening and W. Kirfel ed., *Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Nahen und Fernen Ostens* (Festchrift- Paul Kahle) (Leyden: Brill, 1935), pp. 217-24.

[11] Nettl, *The Western Impact on World Music*, p. 7.

[12] This hymn is entitled *Da Qin Jingjiao sanwei mengdu zan* 大秦景教三威蒙度讃 (Da Qin Luminous Religion Hymn in Adoration of the Holy Trinity). See Fang Hao 方豪, *Zhong Xi jiaotong shi*, 中西交通史 (History of Exchanges between China and the West) (Taibei: Zhonghua wenhua chuban shiyeshe, 1953), Vol. 5, p. 127. This is Moule's translation.

Originated in Asia Minor and Syria out of the condemnation of Nestorius (c.386 - - c.451) and his teachings by the Councils of Ephesus (A.D. 431) and Chalcedon (A.D.451), *Jingjiao* 景教 or Nestorianism came from the easternmost outposts of the Church. This Christian sect first appeared in China in the seventh century after a few centuries' developments in Mesopotamia, Persia, Central Asia, and the north-western confines of India and flourished until the tenth century.[13] The details and significance of the hymn have been studied by a number of sinologues such as Paul Pelliot, Yoshiro Saeki and others. But the music, apart from some tentative speculations, remains to be investigated. The missionary historian A. C. Moule, for example, identified the hymn as a variant of the fast Syrian form of the *Gloria in Excelsis*.[14] Liu Ching-chih, a Hong Kong-based historian of Chinese music, is inclined to believe that the tune should be similar to that of the Gregorian chant.[15] Given the fact that the Nestorians had established themselves more or less independent of the Graeco-Roman world and become acclimated to the Tigris-Euphrates Valley for quite some time before entering China, some Chinese scholars even question the validity of calling this hymn Western music in any strict sense of the word.[16]

We know little about how widely the Nestorian hymn was spread geographically in China. Nor do we know how well it was received by the Chinese populace. We do know, however, that a Nestorian community existed in the Tang capital Chang'an, from the seventh century, as evidenced by a Nestorian monument dug up in 1625. Dated 781, this stone stele has an inscription in both Syriac and Chinese and can still be seen to this

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[13] Kenneth S. Latourette, *A History of Christianity Missions in China* (Taipei: Ch'eng-wen Publishing Company, 1966, reprint), pp. 46-51.
[14] A. C. Moule, *Christians in China before the Year 1550* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1930), pp. 52-5.
[15] Liu Ching-chih, "Ouzhou yinyue chuanru Zhongguo" 歐洲音樂傳入中國 (The Transmission of European Music into China) in Liu Ching-chih ed., *Zhongguo xin yinyushi lunji* (History of New Music in China-Collected Essays) (Hong Kong: University of Hong Kong Press, 1986), p. 13, n8.
[16] Liu Qi, "Zhongguo gudai chuanru de Jidu jiaohui yinyue tanxun", *Yinyue Yishu*, No. 1 (1987).

day in the Museum of the Forest of Stelae, Xian.[17] Given the fact that several sightings of the Nestorian hymn-singing were recorded by later missionaries who came to meet the Mongol rulers in the early thirteenth century,[18] it is perhaps not entirely unreasonable to assume that it had enjoyed a degree of popularity among the Chinese and Mongol believers of the Christian faith.

The Introduction of Catholic Liturgical Music during the Mongol Interlude

The earliest evidence of instruction in church music in China is found in the letters sent from China by John of Monte Corvino early in the fourteenth century. A Franciscan of the Order of Minor Brothers, John of Monte Corvino is believed to be the first Roman Catholic missionary to enter China. He reached Khan-baliq (modern Beijing) in 1294 and died there in 1328 after preaching the Christian faith for 34 years in China. In a letter dated January 8, 1305, John gives the following detailed account of his activities in the Mongol capital:

> I have bought one after another forty boys, the sons of pagans, of an age between seven and eleven years, who were as yet learning no religion. And I have baptised them and taught them Latin letters and our rite; and I have written for them thirty Psalters with Hymnaries and two Breviaries, with which eleven boys now know our Office and maintain the choir services and weekly as (we do) in a convent whether I am present or not and several of them are writing Psalters and other necessary things. And the lord emperor is greatly delighted with their chanting. I strike the bells at all the hours, and perform the Divine Office with a congregation of babes and sucklings. But we sing by heart because we have no service-book with notes.[19]

Here not only do we have a clear picture of the type of music used in his congregation but also a rare knowledge of a range of things: the contents of his teaching ("Latin

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[17] For a translation of the inscription on the monument, see James Legge, *Christianity in China: Nestorianism, Roman Catholicism, Protestantism* (London: Trubner, 1888). For a study of the monument, see Yoshirŏ Saeki, *The Nestorian Monument in China* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1915) and Moule, *Christians in China before the Year 1550*, pp. 27-51.

[18] For details of the sightings of Christian singing by Western visitors to China during the Mongol Interlude, see Tao Yabing, pp. 20-23.

[19] Translated and cited in Moule, p. 173. See also, Christopher Dawson ed., *The Mongol Mission: Narratives and Letters of the Franciscan Missionaries in Mongolia and China in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries,* translated by a nun of Stanbrook Abbey (London: Sheed and Ward, 1955), p. 225.

letters" and Christian rituals, "Psalters with Hymnaries and Breviaries" and so on); the ways music was taught ("we sing by heart," "no service-book with notes"), and the number and type of student he taught and their socio-economic background ("forty boys, the sons of pagans, of an age between seven and eleven years"). We can see clearly that the religious practice in his domain was modelled on what was being used back in Rome. Mass was celebrated according to the Latin rite, as he reveals in the following passage:

> I have now translated in that language and character the whole New Testament and the Psalter... And I understand and read and preach openly and in public as it were in testimony of the law of Christ. And I arranged with the aforesaid king George [a Nestorian converted to Roman Catholicism by John], if he had lived, to translate the whole Latin Office, that it might be sung throughout the whole land in his dominion. And whilst he was alive Mass used to be celebrated in his church according to the Latin rite in that character and tongue, both the words of the Canon and the Prefaces.[20]

In the same letter John also expressed his wish to have some helpers sent from the Papal Court. Music was very much on his mind when he made the request, asking specifically that those who were willing to come should bring "an Antiphon and a Legends of the Saints, a Gradual and a Psalter with notes for a copy," for he had "nothing but a portable Breviary with the short Lessons and a small Missal."[21]

John's attention to music in his mission work can also be seen in a letter to his confrères in Crimea and to the Minorites and Preachers of Persia written in February 1306. In this letter he not only tells us how singing was performed in his church services ("[W]e in our oratory sing the office regularly by heart, because we have not notes.") but also the possible effect of this singing on the Mongol rulers. "The lord Kaan[sic] can hear our voices in his chamber," John enthused, "this wonderful fact is

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[20] Moule, p. 176.
[21] Moule, pp. 174, 175; Dawson, p. 227.

published far and wide among the people, and will have great effect, as the divine mercy shall dispose and fulfil."[22]

John's ability to establish warm relations with the Mongol ruler was to some extent due to his clever use of music. If the following passage, written roughly at the same time, can be believed, we can at least assume that the Mongol Khan's attitude toward Western music was more than favourable:

> The great Khan took exceeding delight in their [the forty boys] singing; therefore the aforesaid brother [John], their master and teacher, was often called by him to bring with him four or six and solace him with their singing. And he, willingly obeying him and glad to give satisfaction and pleasure in this way, used often to repair to the presence of the great Khan and his satraps in the royal hall, taking with him alternately four, six, or eight of the aforesaid boys, and gave him no little joy and happiness through their sweet melody, charming him and his so deeply and wonderfully refreshing them.[23]

John himself was certainly happy with the forty choirboys in his charge and delighted by their progress. Despite the language difficulties (John did not take the trouble to learn Chinese and the scenes from the Bible in his church bore inscriptions in Latin, Turkish or Mongolian, and Persian), the Chinese boys did not seem to have any problem singing hymns in Latin. The boys, as John wrote, "also learnt the canonical Hours and singing so perfectly that they were able to chant them very well alternately in the choir; and some of them also who were more intelligent and had better voices than the others led the choir gloriously."[24] The musical proficiency of the boys is further tested when John built two churches. Because it was not possible to be present at the same time at both of the churches John divided the boys into two

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[22] Moule, p. 180.

[23] "Johnnis Vitofurani Chronicon" translated and quoted in Moule, p. 207. Moule reckons that in this summary "we seem to have some fragments of the original letter preserved for us here which would otherwise be lost, for the passage about the Brother being summoned to take his choristers to sing to the Khan cannot be explained as a summary or even as a vague recollection of any part of either of John's letters as they now exist."

[24] Moule, pp. 206, 207.

groups and placed a group in each church. To his delight the boys performed the Office by themselves quite satisfactorily.

John of Monte Corvino was not the only Catholic missionary who used music in his mission work. Earlier in late 1253 when the Flemish Friar William of Rubruk, a Franciscan who was sent by the French King Louis IX in early 1253 to win the Khan Möngke to the Christian cause against Islam, reached the Mongol capital Karakorum, he also left records of Christian musical activities in the Mongol domain. From his *Itinerarium,* written in 1255, we know that Satarch (d. 1257), the great grandson of Genghis Khan, had "around him Nestorian priests, who strike the board and chant their office."[25] We know also that upon entering a Nestorian church he and his travel companions "chanted joyfully, at the top of our voice, the *Salve Regina*."[26] When Friar Odoric of Pordenone, an Italian Franciscan who was in China sometime between 1322 and 1328, and another Christian bishop were granted an audience by the Mongol Khan they sang "in loud voice, saying *Veni Creator Spiritus*, etc."[27] Similarly, when John of Marignolli,[28] a papal legate, went to see the Mongol emperor after arriving in Beijing in 1342, he "went before the monarch in full vestments, with a procession, a cross, candles, and incense" and sang "I believe in one God."[29]

From these examples we can see the importance of music in the work of early Catholic missionaries. The type of music introduced was authentic, although piece meal Western church music, and their motivation in using music and, in the case of John of Monte Corvino, teaching "the sons of pagans" was purely utilitarian, that is:

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[25] *The Mission of Friar William of Rubruck: His Journey to the Court of the Great Khan Möngke, 1253-1255,* trans. Peter Jackson (London: Hakluyt Society, 1990), p. 127.
[26] *The Mission of Friar William of Rubruck*, p. 165.
[27] Moule, p. 196. On Odoric, see Igor de Rachewiltz, *Prester John and Europe's Discovery of East Asia* (Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1972), pp. 179-86.
[28] A biographical account of John of Marignolli can be found in Samuel Couling, *The Encyclopaedia Sinica* (Shanghai: Kelly and Walsh, 1917), p. 327.
[29] Latourette, p. 72.

music was part of the church ritual and to glorify the deity. Because of the use of Latin in their services, unlike missionaries of the late nineteenth century, issues of adaptation, incorporation or appropriation did not occur to the Catholic priest, as the music they used was entirely independent of the indigenous traditions. As far as teaching method was concerned, judging by the fact that hymns were mainly learnt by ear, it is safe to assert no forms of notation were introduced at the time. Nor was there any issue with regard to the reception of the music on the Chinese part. The Chinese boys mentioned in John's letters certainly had no difficulty singing Western scales and church modes. Insofar as the audience of Western music was concerned, the Mongol emperor and a small circle of the Mongol ruling elite were its main recipients, indicating that the scope of its influence was rather narrow. Moreover, given that Christianity during the Yuan was confined mainly to the Mongol followers for the Church, it is not unreasonable to assume that Western music did not extend to the larger population of Han Chinese.

Western Keyboard Instruments in Late Ming and Early Qing

The follow of Western music, like that of Christianity, was halted after the collapse of the Mongol dynasty in 1368. As a combined result of the demise of the Mongol empire, the devastation of the Black Death in Europe, and the dominance of Ottoman Muslim power over much of the Near East, the period between 1368 and 1583 saw the near total disappearance of Christianity from the Chinese scene. Although by the early sixteenth century the voyages of Magellan and Vasco da Gama had brought

the Portuguese to Macao and later the Spaniards to Manila,[30] the reopening of Catholic missions in China was to wait until the last decades of the sixteenth century.

Coupled with the reappearance of Christian missionaries was the appearance of Western keyboard instruments in China. Once again, the introduction of Western music in China resulted from Christian global expansion. Matteo Ricci 利瑪竇 (1552-1610), the Italian Jesuit who more than anyone else was responsible for the re-opening of China to Catholic influence at this time, was also instrumental for the introduction of Western keyboard instruments in China. Ricci's story has long been the focus of scholarly attention.[31] And his importance in the introduction of Western music, already studied by such scholars as Yin Falu 阴法鲁, needs only a brief mention here.[32]

Ricci arrived in Zhaoqing in Southern China in September 1583. One of the presents he had brought with him was a small keyboard instrument named *manicordio*. The precise identification of this instrument is difficult. While Tao Yabing identifies the instrument as clavichord, other scholars such as Jonathan Spence prefer to call it harpsichord or spinet.[33] In Chinese the instrument was simply translated as *xiqin* 西琴 (Western stringed instrument). It was a gift for the Chinese emperor. This instrument, according to a brief description in the *Qingchao xu wenxian tongkao* 清朝續文獻通考 (Sequel to the General History of Institutions and Critical Examination of Documents and Studies of the Qing Dynasty), compiled in 1784, "was three chi 尺 (1 meter) in height and five chi 尺 (1.67 meter) in width. It was hidden in a box with 72 strings

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[30] Jonathan D. Spence, *The Chan's Great Continent* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1998), p. 19.
[31] For a recent work on Ricci, see Spence, "Matteo Ricci and the Ascent to Peking" in *Chinese Roundabout: Essays in History and Culture* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1992). Also see John D. Young, *East-West Synthesis: Matteo Ricci and Confucianism* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1980).
[32] Yin Falu, "Limadou and Zhouzhou jiaohui yinyue zhi dong chuan", pp. 87-94.
[33] Tao Yabing, pp. 36-41. Jonathan D. Spence, *The Memory Palace of Matteo Ricci* (New York: Penguin Books, 1984), p. 197. Lin Qinghua 林青華, "Musical Contact between China and Europe in the Sixteenth Century", *Chinese Culture*, Vol. 39, No. 3 (1998), p. 32.

made from gold, silver or iron."[34] This was perhaps one of the first European musical instruments ever imported into China.[35] Ricci also ordered from Macao a small hand organ with bellows. But he failed to present it to the court because the instrument did not arrive in Nanjing until Ricci had embarked on his journey to the north.[36]

As has been pointed out by Jonathan Spence, Ricci's inclusion of a musical instrument in his gift-list was not at all unintentional but an important part of his strategic thinking.[37] It was entirely in line with "the Jesuit policy of using music as one of their noblest and most effective means of conversion."[38] Nor was the inclusion of music in Ricci's mission something new. "The use of music – both sung and played," writes Spence, "was widespread and popular in the order in Ricci's day."[39]

Ricci's choice of harpsichord and organ was also a deliberate one. "[O]rgans, harpsichords, and virginals," as the musicologist Ian Woodfield has pointed out, "occupy a very significant place in the history of Renaissance oriental diplomacy, especially during the period from c. 1575 to c. 1625."[40] This is partly because these instruments "displayed the best aspects of European artistry, craftsmanship and mechanical ingenuity."[41] Of the various Western musical instruments, keyboard instruments certainly stood out as the instruments with which the Chinese were most

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[34] *Xu wenxian tongkao, juan* 120, *yue* 樂 (music) 20, cited in Fang Hao, *Zhong Xi jiaotongshi*, Vol. 5, p. 3.

[35] Fang Hao, *Zhong Xi jiaotongshi*, Vol. 5, p. 1. Shen Zhibai 沈知白 states that a Western organ, Chinese named *Xinglong sheng* 興隆笙, was presented by certain Muslim envoys to the Mongol emperor Kublai Khan around 1260-1264 but he does not provide any evidence to sustain his claim, see *Zhongguo yinyue shi gangyao* 中國音樂史綱要 (An Outline History of Chinese Music) (Shanghai wenyi chubanshe, 1982), pp. 95-96. Peter Williams also indicates that an organ of 90 pipes had been sent from an Arab count to China sometime during the thirteenth century. See"Organ" in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (London, 1980), Vol. 13, p. 727. The earliest available Chinese record of Western organs and keyboard instruments is found in Wang Linheng's 王臨亨 (1548-1601) *Yuejian bian* 粵剑編 (1601) (Taipei: Guangwen shuju, 1970), pp. 139-40.

[36] Spence, *The Memory Palace of Matteo Ricci*, p. 195.

[37] Spence, p. 197.

[38] Eta Harich Schneider, *A History of Japanese Music* (London: Oxford University Press, 1973), p. 452.

[39] Spence, *The Memory Palace of Matteo Ricci*, p. 197.

[40] Ian Woodfield, "The Keyboard Recital in Oriental Diplomacy, 1520-1620", *Journal of the Royal Musical Association,* Vol. 115, No. 1 (1990), p. 33.

[41] Woodfield, p. 33.

impressed.[42] In Ricci's own words, the Chinese "have expressed themselves pleased with organ music and with all our musical instruments."[43] The sensation caused by the clavichord in particular "was not only exaggerated, it was almost ridiculous."[44] Ricci was not exaggerating. Chinese sources confirm his assertion. An early example is found in *Pengchuang xulu* 蓬窗續錄 (Miscellaneous Notes from the Thatched Window) by the late Ming scholar Feng Shike 馮時可 (b. 1547):

> After arriving in Beijing, I met a foreign monk named Li Madou [Matteo Ricci]….He showed me a foreign *qin* which is entirely different from that of China in terms of construction. Its strings are made of copper wires. It does not use fingers to play. Instead of using figures it is designed to be played by means of a keyboard. The sound it produces is clear and melodious.[45]

So impressed were some of the Chinese elites that in a travel account of scenes and novel objects in the imperial capital printed in 1635, Liu Tong 劉侗 and Yu Yizheng 于奕正 made reference to the Western musical instruments including an organ made of "iron wires" they saw at the Catholic Church near the Xuanwu gate.[46]

Ricci, of course, was not the only early Jesuit who used keyboard instruments to impress Chinese literati. For example, when a group of Chinese visitors visited a Catholic church in Sanshan, Fujian province, where the Jesuits Julius Aleni (1582-1649) and Andrius Rudamina (1596-1631) had been active since the mid 1620s, Rudamina

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[42] Joyce Z. Lindorff, "The Harpsichord and Clavichord in China during the Ming and Qing Dynasties", *Early Keyboard Studies Newsletter,* Vol. 8, No. 4 (October 1994), pp. 1-8.
[43] Nicola Trigault ed., *China in the Sixteenth Century: The Journals of Matthew Ricci, 1583-1610*, trans, Louis J. Gallagher (New York, Random House, 1953), p. 22.
[44] Trigault, p. 320.
[45] Cited in Fang Hao, *Zhong Xi jiaotongshi*, Vol. 5, p. 3. A biographical sketch of Feng Shike can be found in L. Carrington Goodrich and Chaoying Fang eds., *Dictionary of Ming Biography* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1976), Vol. 1, pp. 455-58.
[46] Liu Tong 劉侗 and Yu Yizheng 于奕正, *Dijing jingwu lue* 帝京景物略 (A Brief Account of Scenes and Objects Seen in the Imperial Capital Beijing, prefaced in 1635), cited in Fang Hao, *Zhong Xi jiaotongshi*, Vol. 5, p. 3.

showed them the organ at his church. Awestruck at the beauty and magnificence of the instrument, "everyone burst into a general hurrah."[47]

Ricci was certainly conscious of the use of clavichord and organ as a specimen of European craftsmanship and mechanical ingenuity in impressing his audience. He was also aware of the artistry of European music in advancing his missionary cause. Ricci noticed from very early on that music constituted an important part of Chinese social and religious life and the Chinese ruling classes in particular were terribly serious about music.[48] But like the May Fourth advocates of Western music, he found "the whole art of Chinese music seems to consist in producing a monotonous rhythmic beat as they know nothing of the variations and harmony that can be produced by combing different musical notes."[49] During a brief stay in Nanjing in 1600, he arranged for the newly arrived Diego Pantoja (ca.1571-1618) to study harpsichord repertoire and tuning from the musically-gifted Jesuit priest, Lazzaro Cattaneo (1560-1640). Pantoja succeeded in mastering several sonatas and acquired some basic knowledge of tuning the instrument. This tactical planning, like his skilful use of Western scientific and mathematical knowledge to help convert members of the Chinese ruling elites to the Roman Catholic faith, proved to be very rewarding indeed. In 1601 when Ricci finally managed to present his gifts to the throne, the harpsichord caught the eyes of the reclusiveWanli 萬厲 emperor (r.1573-1620).[50] To Ricci's delight,

> Later on, four of the eunuchs who played stringed instruments before the throne came, in the King's name, to see the Fathers. …. They conducted an elaborate school in the royal palace and they came to ask the Fathers to teach them to play on the clavichord….. From being a casual student, Father Didaco [Diego Pantoja]

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[47] Giulio Aleni and Andrius Rudamina, *Kou duo richao* 口鐸日抄 (Daily Records taken from the Dialogues between the Jesuit Missionaries and Some Chinese Scholars in Fujian), cited in Fang Hao, *Zhong Xi jiaotongshi*, Vol. 5, p. 6.
[48] Trigault, p. 335.
[49] Trigault, p. 22.
[50] For a fascinating account of the Wanli reign, see Ray Huang, *1587, A Year of No Significance: the Ming Dynasty in Decline* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981).

had become very proficient on this instrument, and he went to the palace every day to give them a music lesson.[51]

Clearly the harpsichord was responsible for the Jesuits' gaining a footing at the Chinese court. Ricci certainly made good use of this opportunity. In response to the court musicians' interest "in having the pieces they were playing put to Chinese words," Ricci "took this occasion to compose eight pieces."[52] Rather than confining himself to what was conventional in Church music, Ricci showed his Christian pragmatism by composing his own verses in simple and clear classical Chinese. As will be recalled, hymns in China before Ricci were sung in Latin. Not surprisingly, *Xiqin quyi bazhang* 西琴曲意八章 (Eight Songs for the Western Stringed Instrument), as the song cycle was titled in Chinese, had a strong focus on moral and religious themes.[53] Spence summarises the songs thus:

> He wrote of the striving of the human heart toward God, of the folly of our desire for long life, of how the grace of God fills the world more surely than the harmonies of musical instruments fill the hall in which they are played, of how youth glides by before we have time to think of ourselves, and of how death spares no one, being neither in awe of the king's palace nor compassionate to the poor man's hove.[54]

To Ricci's satisfaction, it proved to be an instant success. In Ricci's own words:

> numerous requests from the literati were received, asking for copies of them, and giving high praise to the lessons they taught. They said that these songs reminded the King that he should govern the realm with the virtues suggested in the songs, and in order to satisfy the demand for copies of them, the Fathers printed them, together with other pieces, as a musical booklet, written in European lettering and also in Chinese Characters.[55]

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[51] Trigault, p. 376.
[52] Trigault, p. 378.
[53] Li Madou (Ricci), *Xiqin quyi bazhang* in Li Zhizao 李之藻 ed., *Tianxue chuhan* 天學初涵 (Early Writings on Christianity in China), Vol. 1, Facsimile edition (Taipei: Xuesheng shuju, 1965), pp. 283-91.
[54] Spence, *The Memory Palace of Matteo Ricci*, p. 198. See pp. 198-99 for a translation of the second song of the cycle. A good discussion of the texts of these songs can also be found in Vincent Cronin*, The Wise Man From the West* (London: Rupert Hart-Davis, 1955), pp. 178-80.
[55] Trigault, p. 378.

Within a short time these songs were printed several times and circulated widely among the Confucian elites.[56] The popularity of Ricci's song cycle, though does not tell us much about the music, indicates clearly the effectiveness of Ricci's clever use of music. The fact that all the remarks made by Chinese literati were on the content of the texts must have been particularly pleasing to Ricci. Once again, music was used as a vehicle to spread the Christian message.

Organs, harpsichords and clavichords are also mentioned scores of times in the letters of Jesuit missionaries working in China during the early years of the Qing dynasty and the writings of celebrated Qing literary figures. This too testifies to the effectiveness and longevity of Ricci's strategy of using music to effect an attitudinal change on the part of the Chinese ruling elite toward Christianity. The early Qing scholar Qu Dajun 屈大均 (1630-1696), for example, recorded in favourable terms his sighting of the organ at St Paul's church in Macao.[57] Describing the same instrument, Liang Di 梁迪, also a celebrated early Qing scholar, was even more laudatory in his poems.[58] The historian Tan Qian 談遷 (1594-1658) was so delighted upon being shown a clavichord by a Jesuit during his sojourn in Beijing in the mid 1650s that he wrote the following detailed description of the instrument in his *Bei you lu* 北游錄 (Record of Travel in the North):

> The *qin* 琴 has iron wires. The casket-like box is five feet lengthwise and about nine inches high. A middle board divides it. Above the board are forty-five strings arranged over a slant, left to right, and tied to small pins. There is another slant. Under this slant are hidden small protrusions, the same in number as the strings. On a lower level is a corresponding row of forty-five keys. The hand presses them

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[56] According to George H Dunne, these "eight simple motets" were first published by Li Zhizao in Beijing in 1629, and have been reissued several times since then and were included in a list of the best literary productions of China in the late eighteenth century, see Dunne, S.J., *Generation of Giants* (London: Burns & Oates, 1962), p. 79. However, available evidence seems to suggest that they were published at least 20 years earlier, see Tao Yabing, p. 46.

[57] Qu Dajun 屈大均, *Guangdon xinyu* 廣東新語 (News from Guangdong) (Hong Kong: Zhonghua shuju, 1974), p. 37.

[58] Fang Hao, *Zhong Xi jiaotongshi*, Vol. 5, p. 7.

> and the pitch sounds as in the score. An elegantly decorated book of high quality paper was on a stand. A carved quill was used to touch the ink and write from left to right- Chinese cannot recognize this writing.[59]

So impressed was Zhao Yi 趙翼 (1727-1814) with an organ he saw that he not only minutely described the physical shape of the instrument in his *Yanpu zaji* 檐曝雜記 (Miscellaneous Notes from Under the Exposed Eave) but also composed several verses describing its magnificent sound effects in his *Oubei shichao* 瓯北詩鈔 (Poems of Zhao Yi). In his extreme amazement he wondered how such superb craftsmanship and mechanical ingenuity could have come from the land of barbarians.[60]

This abundance of literary references to Western keyboard instruments points to two basic facts: the ready availability of the Western keyboard instruments in China and the Jesuits' purposeful use of them to effect conversion from the top down. The former is evidenced nowhere more clearly than the widespread use of organs, spinets, harpsichords and clavichords not only in areas such as Macao and Canton where the foreign presence was keenly felt but also in the imperial capital and small places like Sanshan, Fujian province. The latter is illustrated by the Jesuits' deliberate efforts to use these Western mechanical devices as a novelty to gain religious concessions from the court and cultivate friendship with Chinese social and political elites. This is not surprising. After all, keyboard instruments had been the European diplomats' gift of

[59] Tan Qian 談遷, *Bei you lu* 北游录 (Record of Travel in the North) (Beijing: Zhonghua shiju, 1960), p. 46. Cited and translated in Lindorff, "The Harpsichord and Clavichord in China," p. 3. Tan Qian's major works include *Guoque* 國榷 (Evaluation of the work of our dynasty) (1656) and *Zaolin zazu* 枣林雜俎 (Miscellaneous offerings from Zaolin) (1644). For a biographical sketch of Tan Qian, see Goodrich and Fang eds., *Dictionary of Ming Biography,* Vol. 2, pp. 1239-42.

[60] These poems are reprinted in Fang Hao, *Zhong Xi jiaotongshi*, Vol. 5, pp. 7-9. Zhao Yi, a well-known mid-Qing poet, historian, and academician, was a *jinshi* of the Qianlong period. Apart from his literary works he was also known for his historical work *Ershi er shi zhaji* 二十二史劄記 (Critical Notes on the 22 Histories) (1799), which covers the 24 standard histories up to and including the *Mingshi.* Zhao Yuanren, the May Fourth reformer of Chinese music best known for his experiment in Chinese art songs, was a descendent of Zhao Yi. For a brief biography of Zhao Yi by Tu Lien-che, see Hummel ed., *Eminent Chinese of the Ch`ing Period* (1644-1912), p. 76.

choice in oriental diplomacy since the thirteenth century.[61] When Francis Xavier, the man responsible for opening the Jesuit mission in Japan, visited Yamaguchi in April 1551, for example, he offered the *daimyō* Yoshitaka, among a number of rare gifts, a Western keyboard instrument.[62] In the years after Xavier's gift, keyboard playing "became an integral part of the syllabus of Jesuit seminaries."[63] The Manchu royal court in its early years certainly had a constant supply of keyboard instruments from a range of Christian missionaries and foreign emissaries. According to Father Matteo Ripa (1682-1746), a Roman Catholic secular priest who served at the court from 1711 to 1723, the Kangxi emperor had "a cymbal or a spinet in almost every apartment."[64] In fact, Kangxi had so many Western instruments in his possession that when the Lazarist missionary Theodorico Pedrini 德禮格 (1671-1746) arrived in Beijing in February 1711 in response to the emperor's request for a European musician, he was ordered to "come and lodge in the house of Tton-kew-kew [Tong guojiu 佟國舅?, a brother-in-law of Kangxi], for the purpose of tuning the cymbals and spinets."[65] In Beijing alone, at least five variously named keyboard instruments were mentioned in both the Jesuits and the Chinese sources between 1605 and 1640.[66]

There is evidence to suggest that keyboard instruments were not only brought as gifts but also built in China in early Qing.[67] The fact that Ricci had ordered an organ to be made in Macao before he embarked on his journey north in 1600 indicates clearly that organ-making was nothing new in the Portuguese colony. Based on Alfons Väth's biography of Schall, Tao Yabing credits Johann Adam Schall von Bell 汤若望 (1592-

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[61] See Woodfield, "The Keyboard Recital in Oriental Diplomacy", pp. 33-62.
[62] Harich-Schneider, p. 448.
[63] Woodfield, p. 36.
[64] Matteo Ripa, *Memoirs of Father Ripa during Thirteen Years' Residence a the Court of Peking in the Service of the Emperor of China,* selected and translated by Fortunato Prandi (New York: Wiley & Putnam, 1846, reprint, 1979), p. 75.
[65] Ripa, p. 75.
[66] Tao, pp. 53-55.
[67] Lindroff, p. 4.

1666) with the distinction of being the first to build an organ ("orgel") in Beijing in 1652.[68] Most of the Jesuits who came to China in the late Ming and early Qing periods were men of many talents. They excelled particularly in the fields of engineering, astronomy, painting and music. Schall was certainly capable of carrying out the task of building an organ.

A skilful user of science and technology "to the greater glory of God," Schall had been using his prowess in Western technology as a means of converting the imperial court to Christianity ever since his arrival in China in 1622.[69] In 1640 he succeeded in repairing for the Chongzhen 崇禎 emperor (r. 1628-44) the very harpsichord Ricci had earlier presented to the emperor Wanli. Like Ricci, Schall was quick to take advantage of every opportunity that his technical skills created for him to propagate the Christian religion:

> When he sent the new harpsichord to the Emperor, he offered, at the same time, a magnificent album representing the explanation in Chinese characters, and to this he added a representation of the adoration of the three Magi in wax, with the figures carefully coloured.[70]

One can well image Schall's elation when the Chongzhen emperor asked him to translate and explain the two Latin verses inscribed on the instrument, which read "Laudate in cymbalis benesonantibus" (Praise Him upon loud cymbals; from Psalm 150) and "Laudate nomen eius in choro; in tympano et psalterio psallant ei" (Praise His name with singing and with drums; play to Him on the lute; from Psalm 149).[71]

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[68] Alfons Väte, *Johann Adam Schall von Bell, S. J.: Missionar in China, Kaiserlicher Astronom under Ratgeber am Hofe von Peking, 1592-1666* (Cologne, J. P. Bachem, 1933). See Tao, pp. 71-72.
[69] Jonathan D. Spence, *The China Helpers: Western Advisers in China 1620-1960* (London: Bodley Head, 1969), p. 7.
[70] Evariste Régis Huc, *Christianity in China, Tartary, and Tibet* (London, 1857-58), Vol. 2, pp. 313-14. I am mindful of Paul Pelliot's remark: "On Chinese history no scholar would ever dream to seek reliable information from Huc." Simon Leys, "Peregrinations and Perplexities of Père Huc" in *The Burning Forest* (London: Grafton Books, 1988), p. 55. But Chinese sources, as cited in Fang Hao (*Zhong Xi jiaotongshi*, Vol. 5, p. 4), seem to corroborate Huc's account.
[71] Cited and translated in Woodfield, p. 60.

The Portuguese Jesuit Thomas Pereira 徐日昇 (1645-1708), who, as will be seen, was responsible for the initial introduction of Western music theory in China, was another Jesuit whose name was associated with organ-building in early Qing China. Xu is said to have been responsible for installing a grand organ as well as a set of bells in the cathedral located near the Xuanwu gate in the southern part of Beijing.[72] In 1713, Theodorico Pedrini "succeeded in building two new organs."[73] Louis de Pernon 南光國 (1664-1702) not only taught the Kangxi emperor Western music but also made *clavecines, epinettes, timpanons* and other musical instruments for him. The Jesuit Charles Slaviczek 嚴嘉祿 (d. 1735), who once impressed the monarch with his versatility in playing all the Western musical instruments in Kangxi's possession, was also known for his skill as an organ and musical clock maker.[74]

The Kangxi Emperor and Western Music

The Kangxi emperor's well-known fascination with European learning and goods may have come from different sources,[75] but his extraordinary interest in Western music certainly resulted from his close association with the Christian missionaries, especially the Jesuits. The congregation of musically-gifted Jesuit missionaries in Beijing during the reign of the Kangxi 康熙 emperor (r. 1661-1772) was another example of the Jesuits' use of music in advancing their religious purposes. Among the nine priests recruited by Father Joachim Bouvet 白晋 (1656-1730) we find the musically gifted Philibertus Geneix 顏理伯 (1667-1699), the above-mentioned Louis

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72 Tao, p. 77.
73 François Picard, "Music" in Nicolas Standaert ed., *Handbook of Christianity in China,* Vol. 1 (Leiden, Boston and Köln: Brill, 2001), p. 853.
74 Fang Hao, *Zhong Xi jiaotongshi*, Vol. 5, pp. 12-15.
75 John E. Wills, Jr., *Embassies and Illusions: Dutch and Portuguese Envoys to K'ang-hsi, 1666-1687* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University, 1984), pp. 69, 122, 130-37, 160-61, 164-69.

de Pernon and Doninicus Parrenin 巴多明 (1665-1741). Parrenin could play the flageolet, flute as well as the navel horn. Pernon was good at the violin and flute. As Fang Hao has demonstrated, by mid 1699 Kangxi had gathered around him Jesuits who were not only able to play such wind and keyboard instruments as the flute, bassoon and *clavecin*, but also capable of playing such stringed instruments as the violin and viola.[76]

Unlike Ricci, who was excluded from the inner court of the Wanli emperor, these Jesuits had plenty of access to the emperor. Being the music instructor of the Kangxi emperor and his sons, Pedrini had even been granted the privilege of riding a horse in the Forbidden City.[77] In sharp contrast to the aloof Wanli, the Kangxi emperor was on intimate terms with some of the Jesuits often talking to them on his tours and inviting them to his temporary palaces. Especially for a decade after 1692, he placed great trust in the missionaries putting them once again in charge of the astronomy bureau, consulting them in matters of cartography and engineering, and using their help in diplomatic negotiations.[78] In March 1699, for example, when Kangxi embarked on his southern tour of inspection, he invited nine Jesuits to board his imperial boat. During the journey he more than once listened to them playing Western music and asked various questions concerning Western musical theory, especially Western way of notating tunes, with the intention to reform Chinese music.[79]

Taking advantage of the Kangxi emperor's interest in Western music, Thomas Pereira, upon hearing the emperor's return, led a group of musically-gifted Jesuits to the imperial palace and offered to play Western ensemble music for the emperor on 21 June of that same year. Although on this occasion their play was a dismal failure, they

[76] Fang Hao, *Zhong Xi jiaotongshi*, Vol. 5, pp. 11-14.
[77] Fang Hao, *Zhong Xi jiaotongshi*, Vol. 5, p. 18.
[78] Spence, "The Seven Ages of K'ang-hsi", pp. 96-97.
[79] Fang Hao, *Zhong Xi jiaotongshi*, Vol. 5, p. 12.

managed to maintain the emperor's interest through their subsequent musical activities. It is reported that Thomas Pereira, Pernon, Parrennin, and the Italian artist lay brother Gio Gheradini played together at the emperor's request. On one occasion, according to a nineteenth century French source, they knelt on the floor and played for the monarch non-stop for four hours.[80]

Kangxi also had the habit of taking the missionaries with him on his many hunting or military excursions. In a letter describing one such excursion, Thomas Pereira, the Jesuit who had originally been brought to court on the emperor's orders because Ferdinand Verbiest 南懷仁 (1623-1688) had commented on his musicianship, reveals the extent of the Manchu emperor's interest in Western music:

> On the third day, he called me to his presence that I might play him some music, in which art he takes special delight. I expounded it from its first elements, to the great satisfaction of all hearers, and to the utmost of my ability, and the emperor paid as much attention as if the fate of his empire were concerned.[81]

Kangxi himself learned to "play the tune *P'u-yen-chou* [*Puanzhou* 普庵咒] on the harpsichord and the structure of the eight-note scale" from Pereira.[82] Gao Shiqi 高士奇 (1645-1703), Kangxi's favourite personal secretary, also testifies to Kangxi's penchant for Western music:

> On the afternoon of the eighteenth day of the fourth month [June 2, 1703] His Majesty's servant [Gao Shiqi] was summoned to the *Yuan jian zhai* [渊鉴斋 the Imperial library and galleries]… His Majesty talked about the theory of musical instruments, on which he was well informed. He himself played a tune of *Puanzhou* on a Western lute of 120 strings, made by the palace engineers. Then he said: "During the Tang and Song dynasties, the Chinese played an instrument called *Konghou* 箜篌, but the method of playing was lost. Now we have restored it.[83]

[80] "Journal anonyme du voyage de la Chine fait dans les années 1701, 1702 et 1703", *Révue contemporaine* t. 25 (1856), pp. 6-7, cited in Fang Hao, *Zhong Xi jiaotongshi*, Vol. 5, p. 13.
[81] *History of the Two Tartar Conquerors of China*, From the Dutch of Nicolaas Witsen, translated and edited by the Earl of Ellesmere (1854, Reprint New York, B. Franklin, 1971), pp. 132-33.
[82] J. D. Spence, *Emperor of China: Self-Portrait of K'ang-hsi* (New York: Vintage Books, 1988), p. 73.
[83] Gao Shiqi, *Pengshan miji* 蓬山密記 (Private Notes of Gao Shiqi) in the *Guxue huikan* 古學匯刊, *ce* 12, pp. 1a-4b. Cited in Fu Lo-shu, *A Documentary Chronicle of Sino-Western Relations (1644-1820),* 2 Vols. (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1966), pp. 112-13. For a biographical sketch of Gao, see Arthur W. Hummel ed., *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period* (Washington, 1943), Vol. 1, pp. 413-15.

Kangxi not only learned to play the harpsichord from Pereira but also instructed Theodorico Pedrini, ambassador of the Holy See in China since 1711, to teach his sons to play the instrument and music theory. He also ordered three of his sons to work with Pedrini on a book about music in order to understand the fundamentals of music theory and origins of various musical instruments with a view to improve Chinese music.[84]

The Kangxi emperor's close attention to music and his cosmopolitanism were not unexpected. They owed much to his upbringing and the kind of court environment he was in. When he ascended the throne in 1662 as a seven year-old child, he was under the competing influences of a variety of pressure groups, including the Jesuits. Being an alien ruler governing an empire that was dominantly Chinese, the emperor's friendliness toward the Westerners was naturally enhanced by his own racial background. Yet Kangxi's cosmopolitan inclination does not mean his interest in music was free from traditional Confucian utilitarian influence. On the contrary his interest in music was motivated as much by his appreciation of the advanced techniques of Western music as by his understanding of the Confucian notion of music as a means of social and political persuasion. As Pratt has rightly pointed out:

> Like Louis XIV the Kangxi Emperor took a personal interest in music and was aware of its value to the securing of his rule. Echoing the lessons of the *Yueji* 樂記 [The Book of Music] he said, 'Music has the virtue to calm the heart, and for that the wise man loves it.' Besides, in diverting himself with it he may exercise himself in governing well, by an easy and just application of the government in music.[85]

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[84] Fang Hao, *Zhong Xi jiaotongshi*, Vol. 5, pp. 16, 20. See also Spence, *Emperor of China,* p. 73. For a critical study of Kangxi's sons education in Western music, see Yu Shaohua 余少華, "Kangxi di dui qi huangzi de yinyue jiaoyu jiqi yingxiang" 康熙帝对其皇子的音樂教育及其影响 (Emperor Kangxi and the Music Education of His Sons and Its Impact) in Liu Ching-chih and Li Ming eds., *Zhongguo chuantong yinyue jiaoyu yantaohui lunwen ji* 中國传统音樂教育研討會論文集 (Proceedings of the International Seminar on Traditional Music Education in China) (Hong Kong: University of Hong Kong, 1999), pp. 125-43.

[85] Keith Pratt, "Art in the Service of Absolutism: Music at the Courts of Louis XIV and the Kangxi Emperor", *The Seventeenth Century,* Vol.7, No. 1 (1992), p. 100.

In this regard, the Kangxi emperor was clearly no different from the missionaries who deployed music in the first place.

To be sure, a ruler's concern for correct music had always been the dominant theme throughout the history of China. But what distinguished Kangxi from other emperors was his practical involvement. The emperor "showed an active concern for it in practical ways, giving instructions for example on the cultivation and selection of bamboos for use in the manufacture of musical instruments, a scholarly interest in its history, theory and performance."[86] In this regard the Kangxi emperor is exceptional and his musical endeavours are only paralleled by a few other Chinese monarchs.[87]

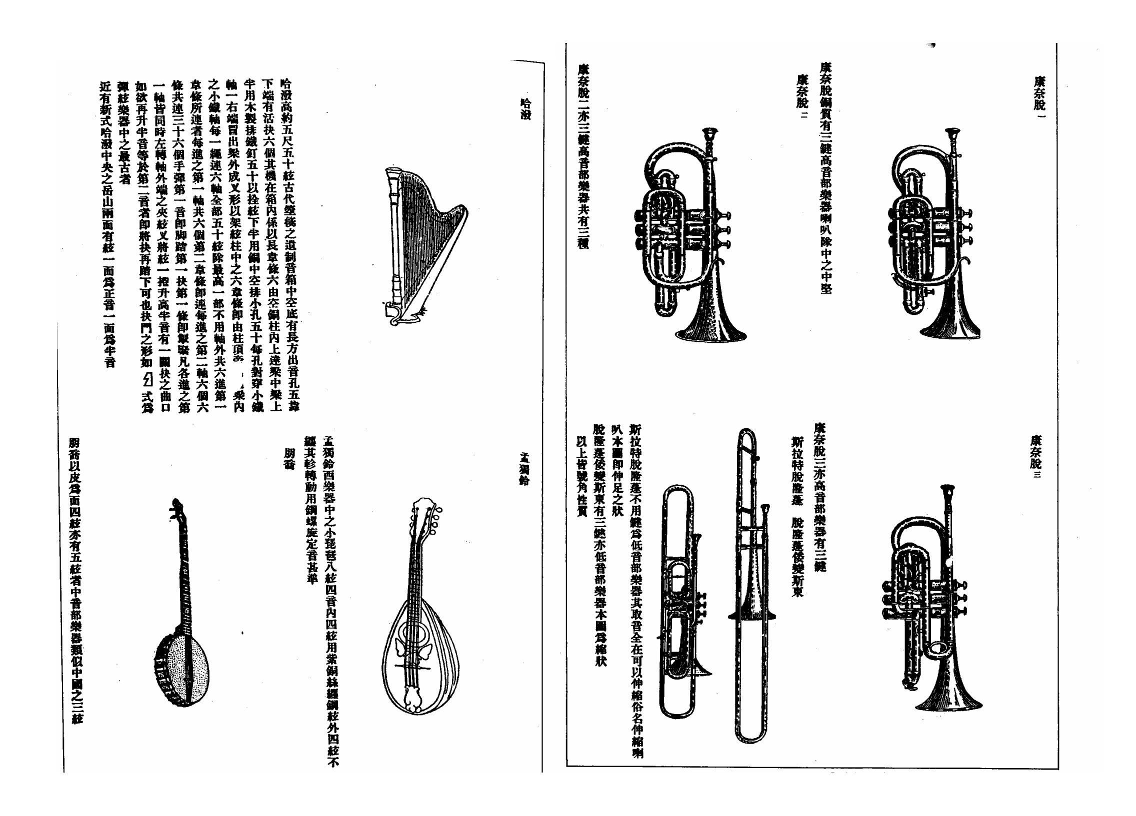


Fig. 1:1. Some of the Western Musical Instruments contained in the *Qichao* X*u wenxian tongkao* 清朝續文献通考. Cited in Han Guohuang, *Zi xi cu dong*, Vol. 2.

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[86] Pratt, p. 100.

[87] The Ming emperor of the Tang dynasty springs to mind. See Kishibe Shigeo 岸边成雄, "A Chinese Painting of the T'ang Court Women's Orchestra" in *Commonwealth of Music* edited by G. Rees and R. Brandel (New York: The Free Press, 1965), pp. 104-17.

***Lülü zengyi* 律吕正義 and the Introduction of Western Musical Theory**

The Kangxi emperor was also known as the first person to show real interest in European musical theory.[88] Like reformers of Chinese music in the late 1920s and 1930s, he was particularly attracted to the European staff notation. In the following passage written in 1735, Du Halde described in a rather fanciful manner how Thomas Pereira intrigued the Manchu ruler with a practical test performed with a fellow Jesuit, Philippe Grimaldi 閔明我 (1638-1712), and how the music encyclopaedia *Lülü zhengyi* 律吕正義 (The True Doctrine of the Pitches)[89] which included a treatise on European notation came to be commissioned:

> The ease wherewith we are able to take down an Air at only once hearing it, by the Assistance of Notes, extremely surpriz'd that Monarch, who in the Year 1679 sending for P. *Grimaldi* and P. *Pereira* to play upon the Organ and Harpsichord, which they had formerly presented him with, he liked our *European* Airs, and seemed to take great Pleasure in them. Then he ordered his Musicians to play a *Chinese* Air upon one of their Instruments, and play'd himself in a very graceful Manner. In the meantime P. *Pereira* took his Pocket Book.... and pricked down all the Tune, while the musicians were playing...; and when they had made an End, repeated it as perfectly as if he had practised it long before, without missing one Note: This so surprised the Emperor, that he could scarcely believe it. He Bestowed great commendations on the Justness, Harmony facility of the *European* Music; But above all admired the Missionary had in so short a time learned an air which had given him and his Musicians no small Trouble; and that by help of certain Characters he was become so thoroughly master of it, that it was not possible for him to forget it.
> To be the more sure of this, he made several farther Trials, and sung many different Airs, which the Jesuit pricked..., and repeated immediately after with the greatest Exactness: *It must be owned*, cried the Emperor, *the* European *Music is incomparable*, and *this Father*, [speaking of P. Pereira] *has not his Equal in all the Empire.* This Prince afterwards established an Academy for Music, composed of all those who were most skilled in the Science, and committed it to the Care of his third Son, who was a Man of letters, and had read a great deal. They began by examining all the Authors that had written on this Subject, causing all sorts of

[88] Gerlinde Gild, "The Introduction of European Musical Theory during the Early Qing Dynasty" in Roman Malek ed., *Western Learning and Christianity in China* (Sankt Augustin: Monumenta Serica Institute, 1998), Vol. 2, p. 1190.
[89] *Lülü zhengyi* is also translated as the *Rectification of the Twelve Pitches*. See Ye Xiaoqing, "Ascendant Peace in the Four Seas: Tributary Drama and the Macartney Mission of 1793", *Late Imperial China*, Vol. 26, No. 2 (December 2005), p. 91, n9. *Lülü zhengyi* has been the subject of a PhD thesis. See Gerlinde Gild-Bohne, "Das *Lü-Lü-Zheng-Yi-Xubian*: ein Jesuitentraktat über die europäische Notation in China 1713". Orbis musicarum. 8 (Göttingen University, 1990)

> Instruments to be made, after the ancient Manner, and according to settled Dimensions. These instruments appearing faulty, they were corrected by the more modern Rules, after which they compiled a Book in four Volumes with this title: *The True Doctrine of the* LI HI [*Lülü zhengyi*]…, *written by the emperor's order*. To these they added a fifth, containing all the Elements of *European* Music, composed by P. *Pereira*.[90]

Discounting the obvious exaggeration, the compilation of the afore-mentioned *Lülü zhengyi* was indeed ordered by the Kangxi emperor. First compiled in 1713, it consisted of three volumes: *shang* 上, *xia* 下, and *xubian* 續编. It was part of a three-part compendium on astronomy (*Lixiang kaochang* 歷象考成, in 42 *juan* 卷), mathematics (*Shuli jingyun* 數理精蘊, in 53 *juan*), and music (*Lülü zhengyi* 律吕正義, in 5 *juan*), known collectively as *Lüli yuanyuan* 律歷淵源 (Source of Pitch-pipes and the Calendar). Kangxi had commissioned the compendium when he founded the Office of Mathematics (Suanxueguan 算學舘).[91] The compendium was printed in 1723 under the editorship of He Guozong 何國宗 (d.1766), Mei Gucheng and Fang Bao 方苞 (1668-1749) with two of Kangxi's sons, Yinzhi 胤祉 (1677-1732) and Yinlu 胤祿 (1695-1767) in charge.[92] The fifth *juan* or the third volume (*xubian*) of the *Lülü zhengyi,* which deals exclusively with European music, was the work of Thomas Pereira and Theodore Pedrini.[93] In this volume, Pereira and Pedrin explained such concepts as the stave; the signs; names for solmisation (i.e. *ut, re, mi, fa, so, la*); the clefs; the modes; the half-tone; the values of notes; different kinds of measure; the

[90] Jean-Baptiste Du Halde, *Description géographique, historique, chronologique, politique et physique de I'Empire de la Chine & de la Tartarie chinoise* (A Description of the Empire of China and Chinese-Tartary, Together with the Kingdoms of Korea, and Tibet) (Paris, 1735), trans. R, Brookes (London: 1738, 1741). Excerpted in Frank Harrision, ed., *Time, Place and Music: An Anthology of Ethnomusicological Observation c.1550 to c. 1800* (Amsterdam: Frits Knuf, 1973), pp. 163-64.
[91] Catherine Jami, "Imperial Control and Western Learning: The Kangxi Emperor's Performance", *Late Imperial China*, Vol. 23, No. l (2002), p. 39; Xi Zhenguan, "Cong Kangxi huangdi de yinyue huodong kan *Lülü zhengyi*", p. 38.
[92] For biographical sketches of He Guozong, Yinzhi and Yinlu by Fang Chao-ying, see Hummel, *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period*, Vol. 1, pp. 285-86; 922-23; 925-26.
[93] Fang Chao-ying, "Ho Kuo-tsung" in Hummel, *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period*, Vol. 1, p. 285.

metre; the rests; and so on.[94] Recent Chinese scholarship has shown that this volume was based on an earlier teaching manual *Lülü zuanyao* 律吕纂要 (The Elements of Music, 1707) used by Pereira to instruct Kangxi and his sons in Western music theory.[95] During the reign of the Qianlong 乾隆 emperor (r.1736-1795), the *xubian* was revised and greatly enlarged (120 *juan*). In 1748 this revised volume, known as *houbian* 後编, was incorporated into the *jingbu* 經部 or the "classics" section of the imperial collection the *Siku quanshu* 四庫全書.



御製律呂正義續編 卷一 八形號配合音節

最高聲
高聲
中聲
下聲

八形號配合音節
全準之紀八形號者得分奇零難於計
算。姑置不論。其大半準之八形號所屬
之音配合遲速長短之節。其間自有高
低上下之宜。按其所宜而品第之。則理
一貫而諸法備焉。爰設四圖。分爲最高
聲高聲中聲下聲之四層。俱以豎畫界
爲八分。將四聲所宜之音。各列於本層。
每層皆準八度。故最下第一層止書一

Fig. 1:2. A page of the *Lülü zhengyi xubian* 律吕正義續编.

[94] For musicological studies of the book, see Wang Zhenya, "Xiyang yueli shuru tanyuan", pp. 58-62; Kii-Ming Lo, "New Documents on the Encounter between European and Chinese Music", *Revista de Musicologia*, Vol. 16, No. 4 (1993), pp. 17-21; Xi Zhenguan, p. 44.
[95] Tao Yabing, 81-95.

Western Music at the Imperial Court of the Qianlong Emperor

With the problems caused by the rites controversy, the death of Kangxi in 1722 and the subsequent proscription of Christianity in China by Yongzheng 雍正 (r.1723-36) in 1724, the Jesuits lost much of their influence and consequently Western music lost much of its appeal.[96] The kind of patronage the Kangxi ruler had shown to the Jesuits was certainly no more. But this setback did not spell the end of the Manchu court's fascination with Western music. In the early years of the Qianlong's reign (r. 1736-95) not only European instrumental music enjoyed a minor revival, European operatic form also made its appearance in China.[97] Despite the increased visits of foreign envoys, missionaries continued to be the main caterers to Qianlong's erratic interest. Apart from the above-mentioned Pedrini, Jesuits missionaries who were musically active during the period of Qianlong included Florianus Bahr 魏繼晋 (1706-1771), Johannes Walter 鲁仲賢 (1708-1759), J. J. M. Amiot 錢德明 (1718-1793), a few Italian Jesuits, and a French Jesuit named de Grammont. Pedrini, apart from his role in completing the *Lülü zhengyi xubian,* was also responsible for composing a sonata for violin.[98] Bahr and Walter were among a number of the Jesuit missionaries who served as music instructors and organs and musical clock repairmen at the court of Qianlong. According to the Jesuit chronicler Louis Pfister (1833-1891), Bahr and Walter, in response to an imperial order, organised a choir of 18 young palace eunuchs and instructed them in singing and chanting.[99] They also collaborated in composing

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[96] For works on the rites controversy and its consequences, see George Minimaki, *The Rites Controversy, from Its Beginnings to Modern Times* (Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1985), and D. E. Mungello, ed., *The Chinese Rites Controversy: Its History and Meaning* (Nettetal: Steyler Verlag, 1994).

[97] Fang Hao, *Zhong Xi jiaotongshi*, Vol. 5, pp. 19-22; Liao Fushu 廖輔叔, "Qianlong gongting yinyue zhong de yang wanyi" 乾隆宫廷音樂中的洋玩意 (Foreign Music at the Court of Qianlong) in *YYTW*, pp. 279-84; Tao, pp. 134-41.

[98] Fang Hao, *Zhong Xi jiaotongshi*, Vol. 5, pp. 18-19.

[99] Louis Pfister, S.J., *Notices Biographiques et Biographiques sur les Jésuites de l'ancienne mission de Chine, 1552-1773* (Shanghai, 1932), cited in Tao, p. 135.

music and lyrics, 16 songs for use at the imperial palace.[100] Bahr and Walter were also responsible for directing the small Western orchestra maintained by the Qing court in the decade between August 1740 to October 1750.[101] The Italian Jesuits were responsible for the staging of Nicola Piccini's comic opera *Cecchina* at the Qing palace in 1878.[102]

But unlike his grandfather Kangxi, Qianlong's interest in Western music, like his interest in things Western, was not consistent. A number of scholars, Fang Hao and Liao Fushu in particular, have pointed out the fickle nature of Qianlong's interest in European music.[103] In 1743 Qianlong all of sudden lost his interest in Western music.[104] With the emperor losing interest in Western music, the Jesuits in Beijing saw no point in wasting too much of their time on the introduction of Western music. Some of them, such as J. J. M. Amiot (1718-1793), began to concentrate on the study of Chinese music, producing the earliest European study of Chinese music: *Mémoire sur la musique des Chinois* (Paris, 1779).[105]

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This overview shows that while the origins of China's exposure to European music may go back for many centuries, the first sustained exposure, with tangible results, did not occur until the late Ming. Like in Japan, Christian missionaries were

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[100] Fang Hao, *Zhong Xi jiaotongshi*, Vol. 5, p. 20. Tao Yabing, p. 136.

[101] Liao Fushu, "Qianlong gongting yinyue zhong de yang wanyi", pp. 280-81; Ta Yabing, pp. 137-40.

[102] Liao Fushu, p. 281; Fang Hao, *Zhong Xi jiaotongshi*, Vol. 5, p. 21; Tao Yabing, pp. 140-41.

[103] Fang Hao, *Zhong Xi jiaotongshi*, Vol. 5, p. 20-21. Liao Fushu, p. 283.

[104] Wu Xiangxiang 吳相湘, "Diyi bu zhongwen xiyang yuelishu" 第一部中文西洋樂理書 (The Earliest Chinese Book on Western Musical Theory) in *Jindai shishi luncong* 近代史事論叢 (Essays on Modern History) (Taibei: Zhuanji wenxue chubanshe, 1987), p. 394. Fang Hao, *Zhong Xi jiaotongshi*, Vol. 5, p. 21.

[105] Fang Hao, *Zhong Xi jiaotongshi*, Vol. 5, pp. 20-22. For an account of Amiot and his work on Chinese music, see Chen Yanxia 陳艳霞 (Tchen Ysia), *Huayue xichuan Falanxi* 華樂西傳法兰西 (Beijing: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1998), pp. 44-208. Originally written as a doctorial thesis entitled *La Musique Chinoise en France* in 1948, this book was published in French (Paris: Publication Orientaliste de France, 1974) and translated into Chinese by Geng Sheng 耿昇. For a brief account of Amiot and his studies of Chinese music in English, see Kii-Ming Lo, pp. 21-25; Harrison, pp. 8-11.

the main carriers of Western musical culture to China and the introduction of Western music in China was very much the result of Christian global expansion. But differing from Japan, where "Christian chant and music seem to have captivated all social classes from the very first,"[106] the scope of transmission in China prior to the Opium War was very much limited. As seen above, only the highest social classes and a small number of Catholic converts were exposed to Western music.

The limited circulation of Western music among the Chinese population can be seen as a partial result of the attitudes of the Ming and Qing ruling classes towards Western learning. Take Kangxi's case as an example, the Qing ruler was utilitarian in his approach to Western music, viewing it as a practical means (*yong* 用), not as essence (*ti* 體). On a personal level, he might have viewed Western music as more advanced in some respects than the traditional Chinese *yayue* 雅樂 (ritual music). But as a monarch he was not convinced that Western music was useful enough to warrant a formal introduction. His willingness to have his sons taught Western music only demonstrates his flexibility and open-mindedness.

On the part of Chinese social and political elite, Western music was seen no more than an object of curiosity. Unlike in later years, they did not see Western music as an emblem of modernity. Nor did they see it as a means to a practical end. So there was no imperative for its introduction to China.

In a recent study of Kangxi and Western learning, Catherine Jami has argued that rather than popularising Western learning the Kangxi emperor "monopolised" it as a means of controlling the heaven, the earth and men.[107] Ye Xiaoqing has also argued that Qianlong's interest in European goods derived from his "eagerness for monumental

[106] Harich-Schneider, p. 446.
[107] Jami, "Imperial Control and Western Learning," p. 44.

glory."[108] This may partially explain why Western music failed to take hold in China until the early decades of the twentieth century in spite of its early presence. Fang Hao and Liao Fushu certainly believe the monopoly of Western music by Kangxi and Qianlong was the reason for the limited circulation of Western music in China.[109] As far as Western musical theory is concerned, the impact of the *Lülü zhengyi*, as most Chinese music historians and musicologists tend to agree, is negligible in spite, or rather because, of the imperial weight behind its compilation and its inclusion in the *Siku quanshu*.[110] In other words, because it was written to the emperor's order for the sake of controlling knowledge, "its entire terminology has never entered Chinese musical practice."[111]

The minimal impact that the introduction of Western music had in China during the late Ming and early Qing periods also had much to do with the strategies adopted by the Jesuits. Instead of working among the Chinese masses, as did their nineteenth-century Protestant counterparts, the Catholic Jesuits adopted a policy of converting from the top down, giving priority to the conversion of emperors and officials of high rank. Different philosophies resulted in different actions. Instead of preaching in street chapels, visiting homes of the poor, funding schools, orphanages, and hospitals for the destitute, the Jesuits on the whole spent much of their time and energy studying the Chinese classics and in the services of the Chinese officialdom. In contrast to the Protestant missionaries' absolute confidence in the superiority of their culture, the Jesuits did their best to adapt themselves to the Chinese way of life, and cultivated connections with the Chinese social and political elites.[112] Their relative invisibility

[108] Ye Xiaoqing, "Ascendant Peace in the Four Seas," p. 102.
[109] Fang Hao, *Zhong Xi jiaotongshi*, Vol. 5, p. 22; Liao Fushu, p. 283.
[110] Ta Yabing, pp. 94-5; Wang Zhenya, p. 62.
[111] Kii-Ming Lo, pp. 20-21.
[112] This is not to say that Protestant missionaries did not consider cultivating connections with the Chinese social and political elites as an effective way of Christianising China. Timothy Richard, Young

and their inattention to the Chinese masses was one of the reasons for the limited diffusion of Western music at this time.

Besides, there were cultural and aesthetic reasons for the limited diffusion of Western music in China at this time. The Jesuits may have succeeded in arousing the interest of the emperors and small segment of Chinese society in European music by virtue of its superior manufacturing techniques and notational system, but on the whole they failed to impress the wider Chinese populace as an art of aesthetic enjoyment. As one Jesuit noted:

> They like the European music well enough, provided these be only one voice to accompany the instruments... But as for the most curious Part of Music, I mean the Contrast of different Voices, of grave and acute Sounds, Dieses, Fugues, and Syncopes, they are not at all agreeable to their Taste, appearing to them a confused Discord.[113]

J. J. M. Amiot also tells us that during his first years in Beijing in the 1750s, he played *Les Sauvages* and *Les Cyclopes* by Rameau and pieces for flute by Blavet to learned Chinese persons. They reacted by saying, "The tunes of our music go from the ear to the heart, and from the heart to the soul; we feel them, we understand them. Those you have just played do not have that effect upon us."[114]

J. Allen, W. A. P. Martin, and Gilbert Reid, to name just a few, certainly made conscious efforts in this regard.

[113] Du Halde, pp. 162-63.

[114] Quoted in Frank Ll. Harrison, "Observation, Elucidation, Utilization: Western Attitudes to Eastern Musics, ca. 1600 - ca. 1830" in Malcolm H. Brown and Roland J. Wiley eds., *Slavonic and Western Music: Essays for Gerald Abraham* (Ann Arbor: Oxford University Press, 1985), p. 8.

CHAPTER TWO

PROTESTANT MISSIONARIES AND THE RE-INTRODUCTION OF WESTERN MUSIC IN LATE QING CHINA

In contrast to the strategies adopted by the Jesuits, which aimed at converting emperors and high-ranking court officials by virtue of Jesuits' erudition and specialities in various scientific subjects, the Protestants who came to China in the nineteenth century were more preoccupied with reaching the Chinese masses. Apart from holding open-air services and distributing tracts, they took long journeys by cart or horseback across vast terrains to reach the poor. When direct evangelism brought little results, they, often to the displeasure of their home boards, turned to the running of schools, orphanages, and hospitals.

Music as an indispensable part of the Christian ritual and part and parcel of the Christian educational package was from the very beginning used as a direct tool to propagate the Christian doctrines to the heathen Chinese. As in Japan and other non-Western societies at roughly the same time, China's sustained exposure to Western music in the nineteenth century was to a large extent due to the Christian hymns.[1] After all, singing had been a central aspect of Protestant worship ever since the time of the Reformation. By bringing "hymns singing to the fore as a means to involve the congregation in active worship," Martin Luther himself had most eloquently demonstrated this point.[2]

One of the important factors accounting for the primacy of hymn-singing influence, as Edwin Burrows has argued in his study of the Tuamotus, was "because it was introduced not by chance but by deliberate teaching, with the emotional power of

[1] The point made concerning the rapid spread of Western music and the Christian hymns in Japan is made by Harich-Schneider in her *A History of Japanese Music*, p. 540.
[2] Charter and DeBernardi, "Towards a Chinese Christian Hymnody", p. 85. See Buszin, "Luther on Music", pp. 80-97.

religion behind it."[3] This statement is just as true of the situation in China. Besides spreading the Christian message by lyrics, hymns are also effective in creating an atmosphere conducive to Christian worship. A devotional atmosphere was "created through the singing of hymns as well as through the recitation of short prayers."[4] Given this kind of usefulness it was no coincident that missionaries in Africa and in China "regarded hymns as a priority and as a powerful means by which to proselytise."[5]

To be sure, there are "limitations to the use of printed hymnals as evidence of musical performance" as "hymnals contained only texts".[6] But the appropriate music in most cases was well known to all missionaries concerned. One of the common practices among Protestant missionaries, as Amy Stillman has pointed out in an Oceanic context, "was to include the name of an English or American hymn tune to which the metrical text might be sung." In other words, in the absence of notated musical scores, tune names function as an "important source of information on musical practices in the early phases of missionary activity."[7]

Besides congregational hymn-singing, mission schools were another important channel through which Protestant missionaries introduced aspects of Western musical culture in China. Prior to the advent of a national school system in the late 1900s, Christian day schools, boarding schools and theological seminaries were the only institutions where some form of modern knowledge, including music, could be had.[8]

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[3] Edwin Burrows, *Native Music of the Tuamotus* (Honolulu: B. P. Bishop Museum Bulletin, 1933), pp. 97-98.
[4] Murray A. Rubinstein, "Holy Spirit Taiwan: Pentecostal and Charismatic Christianity in the Republic of China" in Bays ed., *Christianity in China*, p. 361.
[5] Charter and DeBernardi, p. 84.
[6] Amy Ku'uleialoha Stillman, "Prelude to a Comparative Investigation of Protestant Hymnody in Polynesia", *Yearbook for Traditional Music*, Vol. 25 (1993), p. 91.
[7] Stillman, p. 91.
[8] Alice H. Gregg, *China and Educational Autonomy: The Changing Role of the Protestant Educational Missionary in China, 1807-1937* (Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Press, 1946), p. 11; Kuo Ping Wen, *The Chinese System of Public Education* (New York: 1915), p. 64; Gu Changsheng,

To be sure, music as a means of edification, personal cultivation, and political governance has occupied an important place in Chinese cultural life from ancient times.[9] Schools founded during the Zhou dynasty (c. 1056-256 B.C) required students to master the so-called “liuyi” 六藝 (the six arts), namely rites, music, archery, charioteering, reading and mathematics.[10] But recipients of professional musical training had always been confined to those of humble family origins. This is especially so from the Song dynasty onwards.[11] Although some Chinese educationalists called attention to the importance of music in education,[12] music, either as a subject of study or extra-curricular activity, was generally neglected in the numerous privately established academies (*shuyuan* 書院), private schools (*sishu* 私塾) and community and charity schools (*yishu* 義塾). And a universal system of music education, such as has been developed among the leading nations of the West in modern times, did not exist in China.[13] In contrast, historically music had always been an important part of Christian education.[14] To be sure, because of the primitive

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Chuanjiaoshi yu jindai Zhongguo, pp. 225-46; Shi Jinghuan and Wang Lixin, *Jidujiao jiaoyu Zhongguo zhishi fenzi*, pp. 46-55.

[9] For a description of music in ancient China, see Xiu Hailin 修海林, *Zhongguo gudai yinyue jiaoyu* 中國古代音樂教育 (Music Education in Ancient China) (Shanghai jiaoyu chubanshe, 1997).

[10] As Kenneth J. DeWoskin has pointed out: “There were a number of formulations of the ‘Six Arts’ in early China”. “But the arts narrowly defined, including literature, painting and sculpture, and music”, see DeWoskin, *A Song for One or Two: Music and Concept of Art in Early China*, p. 7, and footnote 5.

[11] For a good historical account of the social origins of professional musicians in imperial China, see Qiao Jian 乔健, Liu Guanwen 劉贯文 and Li Tiansheng 李天生, *Yuhu* 樂户 (Musical Household) (Nanchang: Jiangxi renmin chubanshe, 2002), pp.11-16.

[12] Hu Yuan 胡瑗 (993-1059), a court theorist and an educator of the Song dynasty, was one of those who advocated the importance of music in education. Wang Yangming 王陽明 (1472-1529) of the Ming dynasty was also critical of his fellow educators for ignoring the value of music in children’s education.

[13] Wring in 1934 Xiao Youmei, for example, believed that musically China was at least “a thousand years” behind the West. Apart from citing technical deficiencies, he also pointed to social factors, such as the traditional lack of respect for the musical profession and a dearth of music schools in Chinese society, as the root cause for China’s “a thousand years of stagnation.” See Xiao Youmei, “Zuijin yiqian nianlai xiyue fazhan zhi xianzhu shishi yu woguo jiuyue bu zhen zhi yuanyin”, reprinted in Chen Lingqun *et al* eds. *Xiao Youmei yinyue wenji*, pp. 414-16.

[14] Cook Carpenter’s research on the importance and significance of music in European education has demonstrated that the monastery and cathedral schools of the middle ages were essentially music schools, established for the purpose of providing skilled musicians for the Christian church. See Carpenter, “The Study of Music at the University of Oxford in the Middle Ages”, *Journal of Research*

nature of missionary sponsored education at this early stage, there was hardly any specific mention of music being taught at the mission schools established in the mid-nineteenth century. This, however, does not preclude the possibility of music being part of the curriculum of these schools. Given that Protestant mission schools were almost without exception modelled after their home institutions and their home institutions, as a rule, always had some form of music teaching in the curriculum, it is inconceivable that no form of instruction in music was given at these mission schools.[15] Thus rather than indicating a lack of musical activity in mission schools, the reticence of early missionary sources in this respect can be interpreted as a result of music being taken for granted and its ubiquitous and commonplace use in all facets of the missionary activity.

This chapter will centre on the re-introduction of Western music by missionaries from the early nineteenth century to 1911. It consists of a brief historical sketch of Chinese Christian hymnody and an overview of music teaching in mission schools and colleges. Unlike in the previous chapter, our focus shifts to musical activities of Protestant missionaries. This is not to deny the role of Catholics in transmitting Western music in China but rather due to an acute paucity of source materials concerning the work of the Roman Catholics in the nineteenth century.

Hymnals, Hymnody and Cultural Adaptation

The importance of Christian hymns in the daily life of many China missionaries can be seen through the uses of hymns in the work of the first Protestant missionary in China, Robert Morrison (1782-1834). When Morrison reached Canton in September

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in Music Education, II (1954), pp. 119-33; and "Music in the Medieval Universities", *Journal of Research in Music Education*, III (1955), pp. 136-44

[15] Gan Yamei 甘亚梅, "Jiaohui xuexiao de yinyue jiaoyu" 教會學校的音樂教育 (Music Education in Mission Schools) in Wu Yongyi, *YYJY*, p. 327.

1807, Christianity was still under the ban officially issued by the Yongzheng emperor in 1724.[16] Although by no means non-existent, Christian activities, as represented by Catholic priests and their converts, were driven underground. Because of this hostile environment, Morrison was instructed not to propagate the Christian doctrines openly by the directors of the London Missionary Society.[17] But even in this early stage of Protestant movement, hymn singing played a part. For example, in a letter dated September 27, 1807, Morrison wrote:

> Solitary is my situation. There may be one, but I know not of him who loves the Lord. Today, I confine myself entirely to my room. In the forenoon and also in the afternoon, I sing a hymn, read a psalm, as in public worship, and sing again.[18]

Because of the circumstances under which Morrison operated, his earliest direct missionary efforts were confined to a small circle of "his own household, consisting of a servant or two and two teachers."[19] But Morrison made best of the situation by persuading his Chinese associates to join him in prayer and Bible study.[20] Although his Chinese audience was less convinced of the Christian ideas, they "did participate" a month later on May 14 in a Sabbath meeting and "sing hymns with him."[21]

Morrison was certainly mindful of the importance of hymn singing in his evangelical work. Shortly after his arrival in Canton he lost no time in engaging himself in the translation of the Bible and hymns. In April 1814 he produced what is commonly regarded as the earliest Protestant hymnal in Chinese.[22] Entitled *Yangxin*

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[16] The best discussion on the imperial edict and the subsequent banning of Christianity is found in Paul Cohen's *China and Christianity*, pp. 11-15.

[17] Suzanne W. Barnett, "Silent Evangelism: Presbyterians and the Mission Press in China, 1807-1860", *Journal of Presbyterian History*, Vol. 49, No. 4 (1971), p. 288.

[18] Cited in Murray A. Rubinstein, *The Origins of the Anglo-American Missionary Enterprise in China, 1807-1840* (Lanham, Md., & London: The Scare Crow Press, Inc. 1996), p. 81.

[19] John Chalmers, "Sketch of the Canton Protestant Mission – The London Missionary Society's Mission in Canton", *CR*, Vol. 7 (May-June 1876), p. 174.

[20] Rubinstein, p. 82.

[21] Morrison, "Journal," (May 14, 1808), cited in Rubinstein, p. 82.

[22] Sheng, "A Study of the Indigenous Elements in Chinese Christian Hymnody", p. 72. Tao Yabing, p. 151; Chen Wei 陳偉, "Zhongguo jidujiao shengshi fazhan gaikuang" 中國基督教聖詩發展概況 (A

shenshi 养心神詩 (Sacred Hymns to Nourish the Heart), this hymnal consisted of thirty hymns "commonly used in Christian countries."[23] The psalms and hymns contained in the hymnbook "were turned into verse by his Chinese assistants."[24] But the sources of these hymns were the *Scottish Psalter*, Watts' hymns, and the *Olney* hymns by Cowper and Newton.[25] In 1833 Morrison again contributed hymns to the publication of a book of 60 pages in Macao.[26]

Morrison was not the only pioneer Protestant missionary to engage in hymnbook production. William Milne (1785-1822), Walter H. Medhurst (1796-1857), James Legge (1815-1897), and Rudolph Lechler (1824-1908), to mention just a few, all tried their hands in rendering hymns, mainly English Protestant psalms, into the Chinese language.

Compiling hymnbooks was also a central feature of many of the prominent Protestants missionaries who came after the Opium War. In 1851 Divie B. McCartee of the American Presbyterian Mission Board compiled a hymnbook of "23 hymns and a doxology."[27] Samuel N. D. Martin, older brother of the more widely known W. A. P. Martin, was known as "the leader in the writing of hymns in Ningpo,"[28] and the hymns he composed were "still sung in the native churches of that region" at the turn of the twentieth century.[29]

Of Protestant China missionaries, the Rev. Chauncey Goodrich (1836-1925) of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) stood out as

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Brief Account of the Development of Christian Hymns in China), *Zhongyang yinyue xueyuan xuebao*, No. 3 (2003), p. 39.

[23] Alexander Wylie, *Memorials of Protestant Missionaries to the Chinese Giving A List of Their Publications And Obituary Notices of the Deceased with Copious Indexes* (Shanghai: American Presbyterian Mission Press, 1867), p. 5. D. MacGillivray, "A List of Hymn Books" in *China Mission Yearbook 1912* (Shanghai: Christian Literature Society for China, 1912), p. 252.

[24] MacGillivray, p. 252.

[25] Sheng, p. 72.

[26] Wylie, pp. 6-7. Sheng, p. 73.

[27] MacGillivray, p. 253.

[28] C. S. Champness, "Hymnology in the Chinese Church, II" in *China Mission Year Book, 1912*, p. 249.

[29] W. A. P. Martin, *A Cycle of Cathy* (New York, 1900), pp. 212-3.

the most explicit in his belief in the efficacy of music in Christian evangelism. In a speech delivered at the first general conference of Protestant missionaries of China in Shanghai, May 1877, Goodrich went so far as to declare that the Hymn Book was as important as the Bible.[30] Goodrich's view was concurred by a number of missionaries who were to play an important part in the introduction of Western music in China. The Rev. William E. Soothill of the United Methodist Mission certainly showed his agreement with Goodrich when he went as far as to imply that music was better than a sermon. "An impulse to better and holier life can come just as easily through good music as through a sermon," declared Soothill in 1890. But "good music takes the shortest cut to the heart, it goes straight there; [whereas] a sermon has to take a by-way through the mind first."[31] Indeed, convinced of the usefulness of hymns as a tool to propagate God's messages, most of the missionaries took an active part in one form or another in the production of hymnbooks. This is not only indicated by the large number of hymnals produced but also by the huge outpouring from the 1870s onward of "editorials, articles, and letters debating the issues that surrounded the production of hymns in Chinese."[32]

Scholars have given vastly different figures regarding the total number of hymnbooks produced by the Protestants. According to Han Kuo-huang, at least thirty-four hymnals were printed in China between 1838 and 1922.[33] This figure is certainly too conservative. Based on information gleaned from Alexander Wylie's 1867 book *Memorials of Protestant Missionaries to the Chinese,* the bibliophile Tseun-hsuin Tsien [Qian Cunxun 錢存訓] cites 18 hymnbooks in "literary style" and

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[30] Chauncey Goodrich, "Importance of a Vernacular Christian Literature, with Special Reference to the Mandarin" in *Records of the General Conference of the Protestant Missionaries in China* (1877), p. 215.
[31] William E. Soothill, "Chinese Music and Its Relation to Our Native Services", *CR*, Vol. 21 (1890), p. 227.
[32] Charter and DeBernardi, p. 83.
[33] Han, "The Importation of Western Music to China at the Turn of the Twentieth Century", p. 231.

21 in "various dialects" from 1810 to 1867.[34] In his 1964 PhD thesis, the most thorough study of Christian hymns in China to date, David Sheng has furnished us with a list of 208 hymnbooks printed in Chinese from the year 1818 to the publication of the union hymnal *Hymns of Universal Praise* (*Putian songzan* 普天頌讚) in 1936.[35] More recently, Tao Yabing, a China-based music historian, claims that he has personally seen more than 100 hymnals published before 1919.[36]

It is neither possible nor necessary to enumerate all the Protestant hymnbooks ever produced in China. But for the sake of identifying missionary utilitarian motives behind hymnbook compilation, it is important to identify some of the changes that took place in the process and analyse the ways in which these changes were related to the overall design of the missionaries to Christianise China.

When the Protestant missionaries first arrived in China they chose to translate the Christian hymns into *wenli* 文理 style, the language of the literati.[37] Although mindful of the fact that only a small percentage of the Chinese populace could understand their messages conveyed in this style, many early translators deemed literary Chinese to be the only style, as a missionary put it, "worthy to enshrine rich gems of religious inspiration."[38] By adopting the *wenli* style instead of the plain and more accessible *baihua* 白話 (vernacular), the missionaries took the calculated risk of alienating their social base-- the dirt poor and the dispossessed. But the missionaries' experiment to couch Christian messages with beautiful wrapping in order to earn the respect of China's cultural elite was a dismal failure. This should not come as a surprise. In an environment where "the vast majority of the educated classes either

[34] Tsuen-Hsuin Tsien, "Western Impact on China through Translation", *The Far Eastern Quarterly*, Vol. 13, No. 3 (May, 1954), p. 311.
[35] Sheng, 487-519.
[36] Tao Yabing, p. 157.
[37] Sheng, pp. 78-79; Tao Yabing, p. 156.
[38] W. Munn, "Chinese Hymnology", *CR*, Vol. 42 (Dec., 1911), p. 708.

passively or actively rejected Christianity,"[39] the Christian labour caused nothing but antagonism. Social and political reasons aside, the missionary effort in translating hymns into *wenli* style was riddled with difficulties caused by linguistic deficiencies and differences in poetic conventions. Educated Chinese, if they ever bothered to look at the hymns produced by the missionaries, often went beyond just taking a dim view of their hymn lyrics. Extreme derogatory comments like "execrable," were not infrequently heard.[40] So it is only natural that dissenting voices over the use of *wenli* began to be heard from very early on.

The Rev. William C. Burns (1815-1868) of the English Presbyterian Mission was one of the earliest to address the issue by experimenting with vernacular hymns.[41] Although a person who "would not give out a hymn in his native Scotland,"[42] Burns was quick to realise the importance of colloquial hymns in mission work. Writing in 1906*,* the Rev. C. S. Champness wrote of Burns in such terms:

> He evidently believed in Luther's principle of enfolding Christian doctrine in popular hymns. Besides the many excellent translations of English hymns that he produced, Burns also wrote several original hymns in Chinese for the special purpose of teaching Christian doctrine in a form which could easily be retained in the mind of the people.[43]

With the assistance of Chinese preachers he prepared some hymns in the Fuzhou dialect and used them in street and chapel preaching.[44] In 1861 he published in Fuzhou a volume entitled *Yung K'eung Shìn She* [*Rongqiang shenshi*] 榕腔神詩 (Hymns in the Fuzhou Dialect).[45] Burns was initially opposed to writing hymns in colloquial Chinese. After being sent to China by the Presbyterian Church of England

[39] Paul A. Cohen, "The Anti-Christian Tradition in China", *Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. 20, No. 2 (1961), p. 169.
[40] G. F. Fitch, "Hymns and Hymn Books for the Chinese", *CR,* Vol. 26 (October 1895), p. 467.
[41] Sheng, p. 78.
[42] J. S. Dennis, *Christian Missions and Social Progress: A Sociological Study of Foreign Missions* (New York, Chicago, and Toronto: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1906), cited in Sheng, p. 78.
[43] C. S. Champness, "Psalmody in Foochow", *CR*, Vol. 37 (December 1906), p. 674.
[44] Sheng, p. 79.
[45] Wylie, p. 176; MacGillivray, p. 254; Sheng, p. 79.

in 1847, Burns wrote some well-known hymns in the *wenli* style[46] and issued in Xiamen a hymnal of 68 hymns in 1851.[47] He only started to experiment with hymns in local dialect when he realised that his *wenli* hymns were failing to convey God's messages to the Chinese masses.

Burns was not the only missionary to toil with idea of indigenising Christian hymns. Nor was he alone in making use of local dialects. In 1852 William Young (? - 1885) of the London Missionary Society compiled a hymnbook of thirteen hymns in the Amoy [Xiamen] dialect.[48] W. A. P. Martin tried his hand at translating a selection of the Psalms of David into the Ningbo dialect in 1857.[49] Divie B. McCartee issued *Tsán meì she* [*Zanmei shi*] 讚美詩 (Hymns of Praise) in 1860 in the dialect phonetics of Ningpo.[50] In 1859, the American Baptist A. B. Cabaniss printed a 21-hymn book in Shanghai in the Wu dialect phonetics.[51]

Apart from producing hymnbooks in regional dialects, missionaries also made extensive use of Mandarin (*guanhua* 官話) in mission work. In Shandong, John L. Nevius of the American Presbyterian Mission (North) published the earliest known Mandarin hymnal in 1864.[52] In Beijing, Chauncey Goodrich and Henry Blodget (1825-1903) issued a Mandarin hymnbook *Songzhu shige* 頌主詩歌, better known as *Blodget*

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[46] Couling, *The Encyclopaedia Sinica* p. 77.
[47] MacGillivray, p. 254; Sheng, p. 79; Tao Yabing, p. 156.
[48] *CR,* Vol. 7 (March- April 1867), p. 115; MacGillivrary, p. 252. Young was born at Batavia and was employed by Medhurst as a catechist in 1828. On the opening up of China he went to Amoy where he did much of his work. In addition translating English hymns into the colloquial, he also introduced the Romanized system. In 1874 he returned to Singapore. He died in London on 10 April 1885. See "Editorial Notes and Missionary News", *CR*, Vol. 17 (July 1886), p. 279.
[49] MacGillivray, p. 255.
[50] Ching Sun and Wan Wong comp., *Catalogue of the London Missionary Society Collection held by the National Library of Australi*a (Canberra: National Library of Australia, 2001), p. 57.
[51] Chen Wei, "Zhongguo jidujiao shengshi fazhan gaikuang", p. 40.
[52] G. T. Candlin, "Chinese Hymnology– (Rev. J. Lees)", *CR*, Vol. 24 (1893), p. 168; MacGillivray, p. 255. A revised and much enlarged edition jointly produced by Calvin Mateer and Nevius soon superseded this book.

and Goodrich Hymnal in 1877.[53] In fact, so many missionaries supported the use of spoken regional dialects for hymn translation or composition that by the mid 1870s the practice had been accepted as a matter of fact. By the early 1910s, the Rev. D. MacGillivray had found evidence of forty-three different hymnbooks in the various dialects of China.[54] Even in the far-flung Yunnan hymnbooks printed in the Miao phonetic symbols were widely circulated among the Miao 苗 and Lisu 傈僳 tribes.[55]

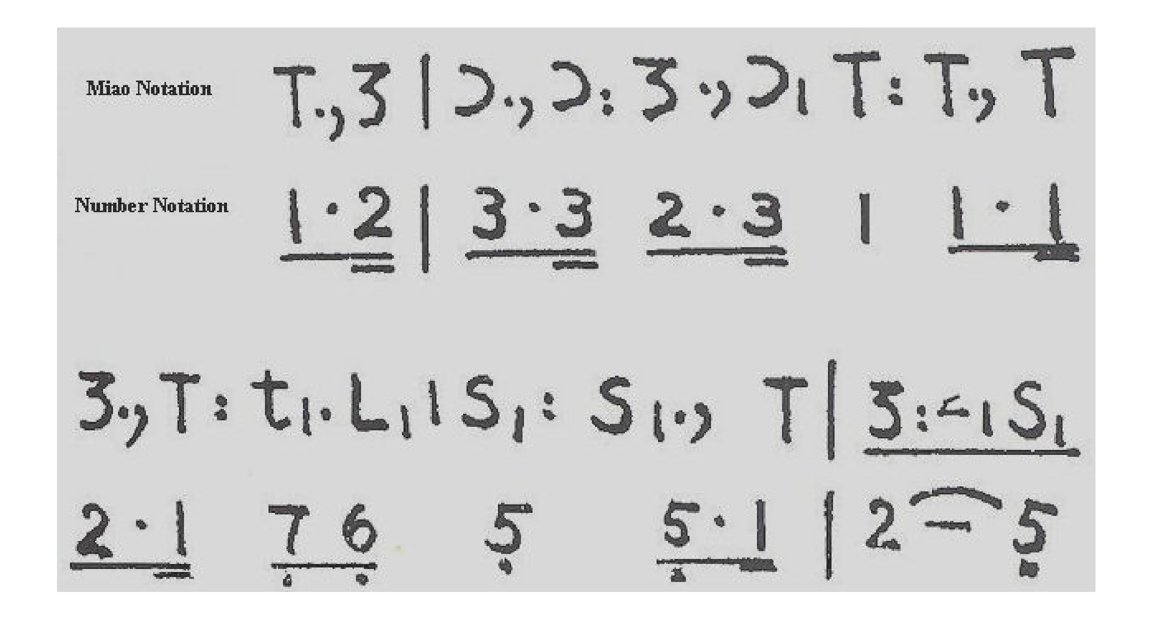


Fig.2:1 A comparison of Miao notation with number notation. Source: Yang Minkang. "Yunnan shaoshu minzu Jidujiao yinyue wenhua chutan", p. 85.

[53] Couling, p. 246. Han Guohuang (Han Kuo-huang), *Zi xi cu dong* 自西徂東 (From the West to the East) (Taipei: 1981), Vol. 1, pp. 3-7. Sheng, p. 501.
[54] Munn, p. 708.
[55] For a preliminary study of Christian music among China's minority tribes in Southeast China, see Yang Minkang 杨民康, "Yunnan shaoshu minzu Jidujiao yinyue wenhua chutan" 云南少数民族基督教音樂文化初探 (A Preliminary investigation of Christian Musical Culture among the Minority Tribes in Yunnan), *Zhongguo yinyuexue*, No. 4 (1990), pp. 82-8. For a case study of Christian penetration of Yunnan, see Norma Diamond, "Christianity and the Hua Miao: Writing and Power" in Bays, *Christianity in China*, pp. 138-57.

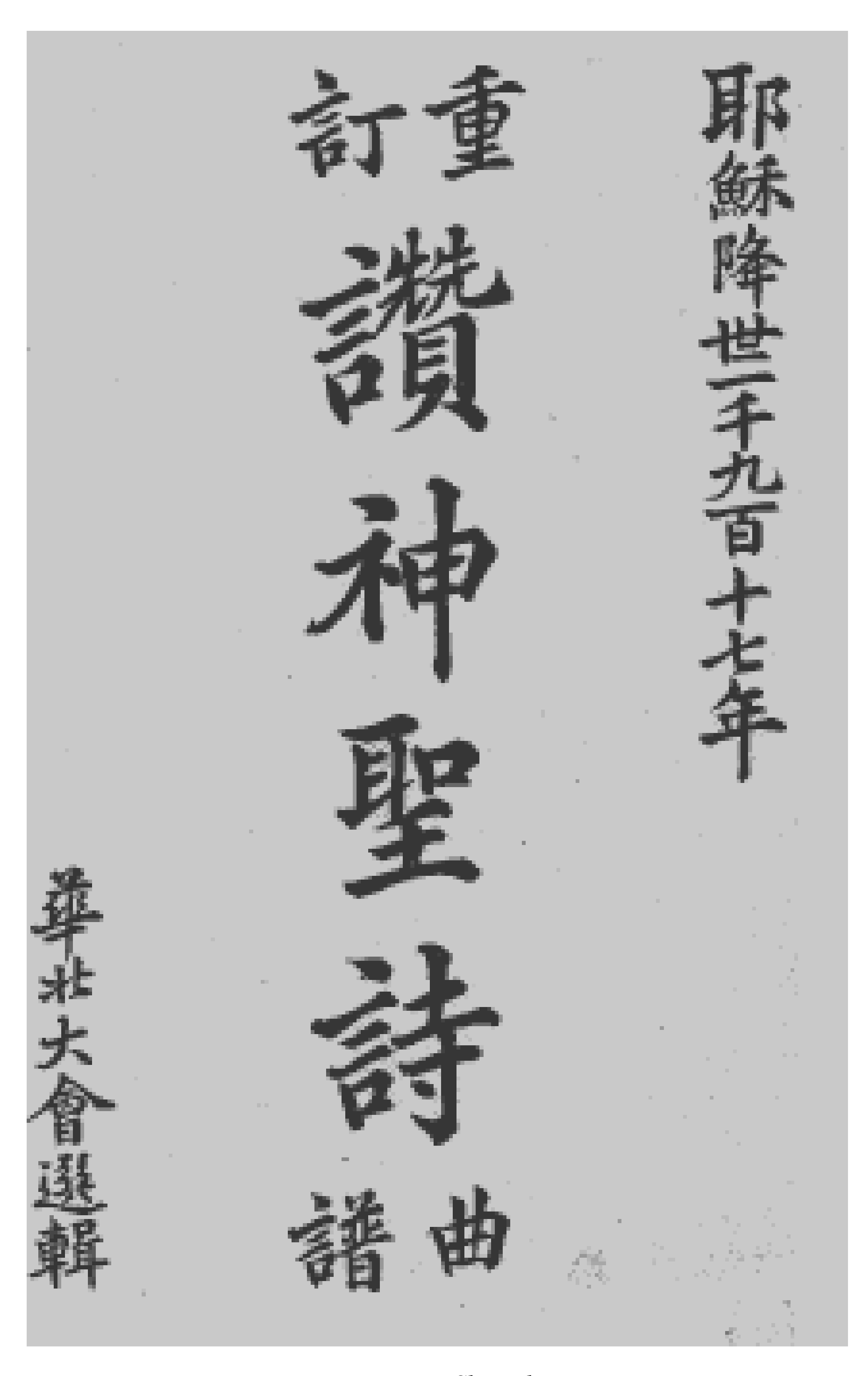


Fig.2:2. Cover page of *Zan Shen Shengshi* (1917)



124 認耶穌為主

BETHANY. 6464.6664. 伯大尼 六四部 *For me, a sinner vile.*

1 2 FINE. D.C.

耶穌替死 六四部

第一百二十四首

一
我本罪惡甚重 主替我死
從此獻祭無用 主替我死
他也不嚷不爭 如羊被剪無聲
降世功勞作成 主替我死

二
我作流犯亡人 主替我死
何能對住我神 主替我死
我罪救主擔當 為我流血受傷
因此敢望天堂 主替我死

三
我原無法贖罪 主替我死
幸蒙耶穌恩惠 主替我死
律法替我完全 稱義在神面前
預備禮服我穿 主替我死

[138]

Fig. 2:3. A page from *Zan Shen Shengshi*

Hymn-Singing and the Spread of Western Music in China's Interior

From the 1860s onwards the Protestant movement in China entered what John K. Fairbank terms "a third period,"[56] a period characterised by steady growth and wider geographical expansion. This new development was only made possible by the second treaty settlement of 1858-1860. Chinese concessions made in the Treaty of Tianjin (1858) and the Convention of Beijing (1860) not only provided the British with access to the previously forbidden Yangtze River valley but also allowed other Western powers to penetrate China's heartland.[57] Moreover, the signing of the Chefoo Convention in September 1876 further facilitated the opening of the Chinese interior to foreign influence. Consequently an unprecedented number of missionaries, along with foreign traders and diplomatic personnel, moved inland.[58]

Coupled with this Christian geographical expansion was the gradual diffusion of Western music in China's hinterland. Missionaries might vary in the level of enthusiasm they showed toward music and they were certainly not equal in terms of their ability to handle music. But none of them could do away with music in their role as church ministers or congregational leaders. This is so simply because of the nature of their work. After all, the singing of hymns, along with preaching, oral instruction and prayer, was a major part of Christian services.[59]

The Rev. Griffith John (1831-1912) of the Central China Religious Tract Society, for example, was well aware of the importance of hymn singing in his evangelical work in Wuhan. He habitually depended upon music and the delight

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[56] John K. Fairbank, "Introduction" in Barnett and Fairbank eds., *Christianity in China*, p. 10.
[57] For a discussion of the terms of the conventions that opened China's interior to Christianity, see Latourette, pp. 271-81.
[58] Irwin T. Hyatt, Jr., "Protestant Missions in China, 1877-1890: The Institutionalisation of Good Works" in Liu Kwang-Ching, ed., *American Missionaries in China: Papers from Harvard Seminars* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1966), p. 94.
[59] Latourette, p. 419.

which the Chinese took in it for aid in his Christian indoctrinations. Describing a typical Sunday service the following contemporary account furnishes us with a rare glimpse of John, the great preacher, at work in front of "six or seven hundred men and women":

> There is a hush, as a short man, with healthy, bright face, keen eyes, white beard, and black hair, comes on the platform. He wears an Inverness cloak, which he throws back as he bends his head in prayer. The silence of communion with God is broken a few moments after as he stands forth with a book on his face which reveals that he has been on the Mount with God. The hymn is announced, and a rustle of leaves follows. Then the singing! At first an indistinct roar, it gradually shapes itself into some well-known tune, and all sing with the voice of many waters: not very musical, but all in time, swaying to and fro, mouths well open, heads thrown back.[60]

Hymn-singing was certainly an integral part of the work of the China Inland Mission, the largest Missionary Society operating in China's hinterland.[61] James Hudson Taylor (1832-1905), founder of the Mission, participated in the production of a hymnbook in 1858.[62] Jennie Faulding, one of fourteen founding members of the CIM, taught "her boys" in Hangzhou "the elements of Christian doctrine and the words of her favourite hymn, 'There is a Happy Land'" in 1872.[63]

In the capital Beijing, Janet W. White, wife of the Rev. Joseph Edkins of the London Missionary Society, must have made music part of daily activity in the school for girls she started after arriving there in May 1863 because in 1877 "as she lay dying, her weeping pupils gathered on her veranda to sing 'Safe in the arms of Jesus' and 'There is a land that is fairer than day.'"[64] Edkins, the Gloucestershire- born missionary sinologue who later became a translator to the Imperial Customs of China,

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[60] Cited in R. Wardlaw Thompson, *Griffith John*: *The Story of Fifty Years in China* (London: The Religious Tract Society, 1906), p. 182. In 1861 John published *Tsung Choò She Chang* [Zongzhu shizhang 宗主詩章], a book of 50 hymns, in Hankou.
[61] Couling, p. 98.
[62] Sheng, p. 490.
[63] Pat Barr, *To China with Love: The Lives and Times of Protestant Missionaries in China 1860-1900* (London: Secker and Warburg, 1972), p. 50.
[64] Barr, pp. 79-80.

was himself a versifier of some of the Protestant Psalmody and found time to translate from the French treatise on Chinese music by Amiot several verses in honour of ancestors with musical examples in staff notation.[65] A book of 81 hymns entitled *Sûng choò shíng she* [*Songzhu shengshi*] 頌主聖詩 (Sacred Odes in Praise of the Lord) is listed under his name.[66] In 1862, together with the above-mentioned William C. Burns, he produced a book of 117 hymns.[67]

The use of music was also a salient feature of missionary work in Shandong. In a letter published in the February 1886 issue of the *Chinese Recorder* John L. Nevius made clear that singing, together with the reading of the Scripture, was an important component of his "Methods of Mission Work."[68] In the training programmes Nevius and Hunter Corbett (1835-1820) provided regularly in Chefoo for the Chinese Christian leaders, "one hour a day is assigned to instruction in vocal music."[69] Hymns, which were "for the most part translations of familiar English hymns, in the same metres as the originals, and sung to the same familiar tunes", were used to instruct the more advanced Chinese church members sophisticated Christian theology. Apart from singing by rote Helen Nevius, the person who was responsible for delivering the music lessons, also taught them "to sing by note."[70] In an 1888 report on missionary experiments in central Shandong, the Rev. Arthur H. Smith, known for his book on *Chinese Characteristics*,[71] acknowledged Mrs. Nevius' work by stating

[65] Joseph L. Edkins, "Hymns in Honour of Ancestors", *CR,* Vol. 15 (February 1884), pp. 61-64.
[66] Wylie, p. 189.
[67] Couling, 246. Sheng, p. 493.
[68] J. L. Nevius, "Methods of Mission Work, Letter IV", *CR*, Vol. 17 (February 1886), p. 58.
[69] Nevius, p. 64.
[70] Nevius, p. 64.
[71] Arthur Smith, *Chinese Characteristic* (New York: Revell, 1894). For a study of the influence of the book on modern Chinese intellectuals, see Lydia H. Liu, *Translingual Practice: Literature, National Culture, and Translated Mondernity – China, 1900-1937*, pp. 47, 51-53, 56-66.

"the effects of whose [Nevius's] laborious instruction in music are audible in every station, and in a marked degree."[72]

While some missionaries were busy marking out their sphere of influence in the newly opened interior, others were preoccupied with consolidating their religious hold in the old treaty ports. In Shanghai, for example, both Mrs and the Rev. John Farnham were active in promoting hymn singing in the boys and girls schools they founded in the early 1860s. Unlike most of the missionary compilers of hymnbooks, Mary Farnham compiled several hymnbooks that included both texts and music.[73] In Ningbo, the Rev. Elias B. Inslee of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States published in 1858 an 80-page hymnal entitled *Sing Saen Yiae Ko* [Shengshan xiege] 聖山諧歌 (Hymns of the holy mountain). This hymnal is noteworthy because in this book not only is the music "printed in the European form" but "five pages of instructions, all in the Ningpo dialect and Roman character," are also provided.[74]

Because of the missionary effort, some of the Chinese Christians developed a great fondness for Christian hymns.[75] Learning to sing hymns was certainly one of the favourite activities of Christian women. Missionaries were quick to capitalise on this. "In order to accommodate women's needs," as Kwok Pui-Lan has observed, missionaries wrote ballads, made up of simple and rhythmic popular expressions, to teach gospel messages."[76] Missionaries were also quick to make use of Chinese indigenous materials. Charles Hartwell of the American Board of Commissioners for

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[72] Arthur H. Smith, "A Side Light on Missionary Experiments in Central Shantung", *CR,* Vol. 19, No. 2 (February 1888), pp. 58-9.
[73] For example, in 1868 the Farnhams collaborated in publishing a hymnbook of 72 leaves entitled *Hymn and Tune Book* (*Qupu zanmeishi,* 曲譜贊美詩) in the Shanghai dialect. Sheng, p. 527.
[74] Wylie, p. 244. MacGillivray, p. 256.
[75] "Notes from Foochow, China", *Christian Advocate*, Vol. 54 (Sep. 18, 1879), p. 595.
[76] Kwok Pui-Lan. "Chinese Women and Protestant Christianity at the Turn of the Twentieth Century" in Bays, *Christianity in China*, p. 202.

Foreign Missions, for instance, included in his many religious tracts "one with ballads to be related after each lesson on the life of Jesus."[77]

While ordinary Chinese Christians may have been attracted to the exotic sound of the Christian hymn, Hong Xiuquan 洪秀全 (1813-64), the leader of the Taiping Rebellion, saw hymn-singing more as a useful tool for his political ambitions than a form of sensual enjoyment. The ubiquitous use of hymn singing in the rituals and ceremonies of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom serves as a vivid illustration of the extent to which Chinese recipients appropriated church music.

Hong Xiuquan had received personal instruction from an American missionary Issachar Jacox Roberts (1802-1871) at the Uettung Baptist Church of Canton in 1847.[78] "During his three-month visit, Hong became acquainted with various features of the Protestant ritual, such as the recitation of psalms and prayers, the presentation of sermons, and congregational hymn singing."[79] Christian hymns were certainly used extensively in the Taiping rituals.[80] "When the congregation in Kwang-si [Guangxi] assembled together for religious worship," wrote Theodore Hamberg (1819-1854), a member of the Evangelical Missionary Society who visited the rebels in 1852, "it was customary to praise God by the singing of a hymn."[81] Eyewitness accounts aside, evidence found in Taiping official documents also testifies to the

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[77] Kwok Pui-Lan, "Chinese Women and Protestant Christianity at the Turn of the Twentieth Century," p. 406, note 15.

[78] For a study of Hong Xiuquan's connection with Roberts, see Yuan Chung Teng, "Reverend Issachar Jacox Roberts and the Taiping Rebellion", *The Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. 23, No. 1 (1963), pp. 55-67. For a specific study of Christianity and the Taiping Rebellion, see Rudolf G. Wagner, *Reenacting the Heavenly Vision: The Role of Religion in the Taiping Rebellion* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982).

[79] Wong. "*Geming Gequ*", p. 113.

[80] For a meticulous study of the use of Christian hymns by the Taiping rebels, see Chen Lingqun "Taiping tianguo yinyue shishi tansuo" 太平天國音樂史事探索 (A Historical Investigation of Music Used in the Service of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom) in *Chen Lingqun yinyue wenji* 陳聆群音樂文集 (Selected Works on Music by Chen Lingqun) (Shanghai: Shanghai yinyue xueyuan chubanshe, 2004), pp. 62-80. Also see Zhu Xiaotian 朱小田, "Taiping tianguo yinyue wenhua shulun" 太平天國音樂文化述論 (A Discussion of the Musical Culture of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom), *Zhongguo Yinyuexue*, No. 3 (1995), pp. 37-44.

[81] Theodore Hamberg, *The Visions of Hung-siu-tshuen, and [the] Origin of the Kwang-si Insurrection* (Hong Kong, 1854. Reprint, Peiping, 1935), p. 35.

ubiquitous use of hymn singing in the Taiping Kingdom. "The Land System of the Heavenly Dynasty" (*Tianchao tianmu zhidu* 天朝田畝制度, promulgated in 1853), for example, stipulated:

> Every Sabbath the section-chief [wuzhang 伍長] shall lead his men and women to the chapel,…preaching and listening to sermons, sing hymns and praying to the Heavenly Father, Supreme Lord and August God.[82]

Hymn singing also formed important part of the daily life of the Taiping leader Hong Rengan 洪仁玕 (1822-1864). Writing of his meeting with Hong Rengan in Suzhou on June 2, 1860, the following letter by Griffith John, dated July 31, 1860, is indicative of the extent to which hymn singing was used in Hong's daily life:

> Before partaking of the viands prepared for us, he [Hong Rengan] proposed that we should sing a hymn and pray together, he himself started the tune, and sang with remarkable correctness, warmth, and energy…. We [John and Edkins] visited him again on the following day. …Before separating, he proposed that we should commend each other to the Almighty God and invoke His blessing in prayer. After singing a hymn, he engaged in prayer.[83]



Fig. 2:4. A Chinese Christian uses music and visual illustration to propagate the Christian faith. From: Ryan Dunch, *Fuzhou Protestants and the Making of Modern China, 1857-1927.*

[82] Translated by J. C. Cheng in *Chinese Sources for the Taiping Rebellion 1850-1864* (Hong Kong University Press, 1963), p. 41.
[83] Cited in Thompson, pp. 141-42.

Chinese Involvement in Hymn-Making

On the early hymnody in China, Bliss Wiant (1895-1975), the missionary-turned-scholar and one time dean of music at Yenching University, wrote in 1946:

> The first non-Roman Catholic missionaries to China took with them their own culture and shared it with their converts. Due to the paternalistic spirit which characterized most missionaries of the nineteenth century there was little stimulation on their part to inspire a creative response in terms of hymns and indigenous materials from these converts.[84]

An examination of the contents of early hymnbooks published in China confirms this characterisation. Of the thirty hymns contained in the earliest Protestant hymnal the *Yang Sin Shen she* [*yangxin shenshi*] 养心神詩 (Sacred Hymns to Nourish the Heart)[85] published by Robert Morrison in 1818, for example, most were prose translations of hymns from *Scottish Psalter*, Watts' hymns and the *Olney* hymns by Cowper and Newton.[86] W. H. Medhurst's hymnal of the same title contained seventy-one hymns chiefly from Rippon and Watt.[87] In the case of the *Kung Tsan She* [*gongzan shi*] 公贊詩 (Hymns of Public Worships), printed by the Presbyterian Mission Press in Shanghai in 1888, the selection of 275 hymns with tunes was actually done by people in the United States and then sent to China to be translate and edited.[88] Even as late as 1891 when Jonathan Lees of the London Missionary Society published his *Shengjiao shige* 聖教詩歌 (Hymns of the Sacred Religion) of 429 hymns in Tianjin, the bulk of the book remained, as can be clearly seen from the following break-down account, composed of translations of all the important hymns in use in the West.

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[84] Bliss M. Wiant, "Oecumenical Hymnology in China", *The International Review of Missions* (Oct., 1946), p. 428.
[85] Translations of titles of hymnals are mine unless otherwise indicated.
[86] Sheng, p. 72.
[87] Sheng, p. 75.
[88] Sheng, p. 99.

> Comparing it with popular English hymnals, it has 174 out of 651 in Fleming Stevenson; 238 out of 1281 New Cong. Hymn-book; 150 out of 829 from Sankey and C. C.; 186 out of 775 from Cong. Church Hymnal; 46 out of 273 from Ancient and Modern. There exists a list of 62 famous hymns, selected from 50,000 hymns collated, on the ground that they were contained in all of ten leading Church hymnals. Of these 62 the new hymnal contains 45. Some time back a plebiscit[e] was published in the 'Leisure Hour,' which determined by the vote of 35,000 persons (presumed we suppose to be judges) the 100 most famous hymns in the English language. Of these it contains no less than 78.[89]

This overwhelming reliance on Western hymns indicates clearly that most China missionaries in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries held an unwavering faith in the absolute superiority of Christian civilisation. Not simply the superiority of Christianity as the religion of salvation, but the superiority of everything that the West had produced culturally. It also reveals that the missionaries were "paternalistic" towards their converts. The Rev. D. Z. Sheffield's view is fairly typical:

> The poetry and music produced by the social and religious life of this people [Chinese] is poor and paltry as compared with the poetry and music produced by the social and religious life of races and nations that have come under the uplifting power of Christianity.[90]

Even with missionaries whose attitude toward Chinese music was more culturally sensitive, the sense of Euro-centrism was omnipresent. After describing a Chinese musical scene he had encountered as "fascinating" and "fantastic," William Munn of the Church Missionary Society, for example, wrote in 1912: "there can be no doubt in the mind of the thoughtful student that Chinese music is very much behind Western music." "It is probably true," he continued in a condescending manner, "that we in the West have something to gain from China, but China has much more to gain from us."[91] Speaking of Christian music in China, the American missionary Laura White stated emphatically "the study of our system is of great educational value to the Chinese, having a distinctly psychological effect in arousing a general responsiveness,

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[89] See Candlin, pp. 169-70.
[90] D. Z. Sheffield, "Church Music", *CR,* Vol. 40 (1909), p. 188.
[91] W. Munn, "Chinese Music", *Church Missionary Review*, No. 63 (Sep., 1912), p. 533.

awakening their emotional nature and stimulating soul life."[92] Thus the consensus among China missionaries was that a total transformation of China's musical culture, among other things, was needed.

Yet, not all missionaries were satisfied with a situation where "Chinese worship is with borrowed song, song that gives expression to the spiritual life of other races, and was wrought out under other conditions."[93] Even the culturally imperialistic D. Z. Sheffield eagerly awaited "the creation of native sacred hymns and music which are born out of the life of the people, out of the experiences of the church in its victories and defeats, out of the sense of the presence and help of the Spirit of God in all the experiences and disciplines of life."[94]

Echoing Sheffield's call for a "body of sacred song and music by worthy native contributions that shall sound deeper depths of religious experience and lift the church into a higher life of fellowship with the life of God,"[95] other missionaries also stressed the importance of encouraging "such Chinese as have musical ability to assist in solving the problem of hymnology for the Christian church."[96] Believing "a nation's hymnology must have its own style, its own thought and aspirations, its own devotion and religious fervour expressed in its own manners,"[97] Munn drew attention to "the fact that only the Chinese themselves, whether by translation or original work, can really produce the hymnology that will touch them."[98]

With the gradual heightening of nationalistic sentiment starting at the turn of the twentieth century, several Chinese Christians also joined the chorus in advocating a

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[92] Laura M. White, "Christian Music in China", *East of Asia Magazine*, No. 3 (1904), p. 27.
[93] Sheffield, p. 189.
[94] Sheffield, p. 189.
[95] Sheffield, p. 189.
[96] W. Nelson Bitton, "A Symposium of Opinion Upon Church Music in China", *CR*, Vol. 40 (1909), p. 199.
[97] Munn, "Chinese Hymnology", p. 701.
[98] Munn, p. 708.

true Chinese hymnody. One Chinese Christian, for example, thought “it would be a splendid thing if some Chinese scholars, having good knowledge of church music, could be entrusted to undertake to compose Chinese sacred hymns” and believed that “the day will come when we shall be favoured with Chinese Christians of musical ability and good Chinese poetic bent, who will do much for the music of this country.”[99] Another Chinese convert endorsed this view by predicting confidently that “eventually there will be Chinese who will write hymns and compose melodies to suite them.”[100]

Yet, in spite of the missionary agitation and the Chinese optimism, “the day seems yet far distant when the sanctified genius of native Christians will create a repertory of spiritual song worthy to carry the glad message of the Kingdom of Jesus to the ears and hearts of a nation,” complained the Rev. G. T. Candlin in 1893.[101] Indeed, before the turn of the twentieth century, “writing about hymns was almost exclusively the domain of Western missionaries.”[102] In 1911, William Munn summarized the situation of Chinese hymnology thus: “Much has been done in the matter of translating hymns and compiling hymn books, but we feel that up to the present it cannot be said that there is such a thing as a Chinese hymnology.”[103]

Despite a dearth of original hymns by Chinese authors, “what work they have done,” to use the Rev. C. S. Champness’ words, “is of the best.”[104] One of the earliest

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[99] Bitton, p. 203.
[100] Bitton, p. 201.
[101] Candlin, p. 167.
[102] Latourette, p. 434. Charter and DeBernardi, p. 84.
[103] Munn, p. 701.
[104] C. S. Champness, “Notes on Hymn Books”, *China Mission Yearbook, 1912* (Shanghai: Christian Literature Society for China, 1912), p. 251. The Rev. Munn also remarked on the quality of Christian musical work by Chinese, saying “those few hymns which are the product of Native Christians, and which, be it noted, are, not unnaturally, the most popular amongst the Chinese Christians.” See Munn, p. 709.

Chinese hymn writers of some consequence was Xi Shengmo 席胜魔, better known in English as Pastor Hsi of Shanxi.

Xi Shengmo (1835? –1896, lit., "Xi the devil conqueror"), was a pastor from Huozhou in Shanxi province. He began composing hymns in the early 1880s. His hymns "were set to Native Airs, and are 'Chinese of the Chinese' in their style."[105] Because of this, his hymns were very popular among Shanxi believers of the Christian faith. "His famous revival hymn has," wrote Munn, "proved irresistible in its power to stir the people, and that in a way that no other hymn, whether translated or original, has been able to do."[106] Champness even went as far as to declare: "no Englishman could write such hymns."[107]

Xi Shengmo's most famous hymn, "There is a Reason for This Gathering" (*Women zheci de juhui youyige yuangu* 我们这次的聚會有一个缘故), composed in 1883, "was widely used in North China at big Revival Meetings and Conventions."[108] Xi's other hymns, such as "Gospel Preachers sent by Jesus" which appeared in the China Inland Mission Hymnal,[109] "Bestowing Peace" (*Zhuci ping'an* 主赐平安, see Fig. 2:5), and "Tell Abroad God's Truth" (*Xuanyang zhudao* 宣扬主道) were also extremely popular.[110] As late as November 1990, according to Ta Yabing, these hymns were still sung among old members of Christian community in Shanxi.[111]

The popularity of Xi's hymns was in no small measure due to his appropriation of indigenous performance elements. But Xi was neither the first nor the last Chinese

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105 Champness, p. 251.
106 Munn, p. 709.
107 Champness, p. 251.
108 Champness, p. 251.
109 Champness, p. 251.
110 Mrs Howard Taylor, *One of China's Scholars: The Early Life and Conversion of Pastor Hsi* (Shanghai: The China Inland Mission, 1900), pp. 269-70. According to Latourette, Mrs. Taylor in *The Call of China's Great North-West* (London: China Inland Mission, nd.) gives a translation of one of the hymns of Pastor Hsi which she says was still in use after 1920. See Latourette, p. 434, footnote 79.
111 Tao Yabing, pp. 175-79.

convert to experiment with hymn writing in Chinese idiom. As Ta Yabing's research has shown, Wu Li 吴歷 (1632-1718), a Chinese Jesuit,[112] compiled an anthology entitled *Tianyue Zhengyin pu* 天樂正音譜 (Correct Tunes of Catholic Music) in the early years of the Qing dynasty. Like Xi, Wu Li made extensive use of Chinese traditional musical forms such as the "labelled tunes" (*qupai* 曲牌).[113]



Fig. 2:5: Xi's hymn "Zu ci ping'an". Source: Tao Yabing, *ZhongXi yinyue jiaoliu shigao*, p. 177

[112] For brief biographical sketch of Wu, see Fang Hao, *Zhongguo Tianzhujiao shi renwu zhuan* 中國天主教史人物傳 (Biographies of Catholic Christians in China) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1988), Vol. 2, pp. 203-20.
[113] Tao Yabing, pp. 108-11.

Besides Xi, other Chinese converts also began to come to the fore in the preparation of hymns by "either shar[ing] burdens with their Western brethren, or assum[ing] for themselves the sole responsibility of editing hymnals."[114]

To be sure, native assistance had always been a feature in the literary work of China missionaries and hymnbook production was no exception. Robert Morrison certainly owed much to Lean Kung-fa [Liang Afa] for his able assistance in the compilation and printing of the *K'é taòu wĕn tsá shin she* [*qidao wen zanshen shi*] 祈禱文贊神詩 (Prayers and Hymns) in 1833.[115] Yet almost in all cases the role played by the humble Chinese assistant was not specified or acknowledged. Only gradually did Chinese authors get a specific mention. Before the turn of the twentieth century, Chang Chiu-seng [Zhang Qiusheng?] was perhaps one of only a handful of Chinese Christians known for contributing an "original hymn" to an earlier hymnal edited by Jonathan Lees.[116] In the 1895 edition of the *Blodget and Goodrich Hymnal* of 400 hymns with tunes, several original compositions by Chinese Christians were included.[117] With the gradual coming of age of Chinese hymnody in the twentieth century this situation was to change. In Albert Lutley's hymnbook issued by the China Inland Mission in Shanxi around 1911, over half (84 out of 168) of the hymns were written by native Christians.[118]

Although the way for joint efforts by foreign missionaries and native Christians to produce hymns of high quality, both textually and musically, had been established

[114] Sheng, p. 171.
[115] Sheng, p. 73.
[116] Sheng, p. 103.
[117] Sheng, p. 102.
[118] Referring to these hymns, the Rev. Munn commented in 1911: "Their style is simple, and does not attempt to follow the elaborate laws observed by the *wenli* poet; but many of them have an excellence highly valued by the Western critic. They are sincere, and express real and deep feeling; and are couched in language that, though ordinary Mandarin, is smooth and dignified, and is daily proving its ability to take hold of the hearts of the people." Munn, p. 709.

by the turn of twentieth century, hymnbooks issued solely by Chinese were yet to wait for a few more years.[119]

The first decades of the twentieth century also saw an unprecedented level of collaboration between foreign missionaries and their Chinese colleagues. Unlike in the past, Chinese partners began to assume a leading role in hymn translation and writing, as well as hymnbook editing and production. In 1911, for example, the Synod of the American Presbyterian Mission in north China decided to appoint an editorial board to oversee the reproduction of *Zanshen shengshi* 贊神聖詩, known among foreign missionaries as the *Nevius and Mateer Hymn Book*. Of the seven editors selected, only one, namely Watson Hayes, was a foreign national.[120]

Music Teaching in Christian Mission Schools

Apart from hymn singing and hymnal compiling, missionaries also used music in their schools either as a subject of study or as an extra-curricular activity. This also facilitated the transmission of Western music in China.

A number of Chinese scholars have identified 1839 as the year in which music was first introduced in mission schools in China.[121] This date apparently has been identified as the "beginning" of modern music education in China, because it marks the first record of the employment of a music-inclined educator, the Rev. Samuel Robbins Brown (1810-1880), to be in charge of the Morrison Education Society

[119] According to David Sheng, one of the early hymnbooks of this kind was one entitled *Qingnian shige* 青年詩歌 (Youth Hymnal) published by the General Committee of the Young Men's Christian Association in 1908 and the initial editor was Zia Hong-lai (Xie Honglai 谢洪賚). Sheng, p. 149.
[120] For more information on the development of Chinese hymnbooks, see Wang Shenyin 王神荫, "Zhongguo zanmeishi fanzhan gaishu" 中國赞美詩发展概述 (A Brief Account of the Development of Christian Hymnology in China), *Jidujiao congkan*, 基督教叢刊, No. 26 (1950), pp. 49-54.
[121] Wu Yongyi, *YYJY*, pp. 311, 345; Sun Ji'nan, *YYJN*, p.1.

School in that year.[122] However, there is evidence that music had been taught in Catholic schools and monasteries in Macao well before 1839. At the Catholic St. Joseph Monastery, for example, music was very much part of the college life as well as its curriculum under the direction of Father Joaquim Afonso Gonçalves (1781-1841).[123]

The earliest reference to music teaching at a Protestant mission school is found in George Smith's *A Narrative of an Exploratory Visit to Each of the Consular Cities of China*, published in 1847. Smith, a member of the Church of Missionary Society who reached Hong Kong in 1844, described the music programme at the Morrison Education Society School as part of its curriculum.[124] Smith himself "on different occasions" not only "heard the senior pupils demonstrate some of the most difficult propositions in Euclid," but also felt "no less pleasant than affecting to listen to the hymns, in which they were taught to sing the praises of the Redeemer of mankind."[125] Although Smith's account affords us no more than a glimpse of the musical activities at the Morrison Education Society School, we can, however, at least infer from the following essay by a pupil of the school that music was not just an ornamentation subject but constituted a very important part of their daily activity:

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[122] Wu Yongyi, *YYJY*, pp. 310-1; Sun Ji'nan, *YYJN*, p.1; Wang Zhongxin 王忠欣, *Jidujiao yu Zhongguo jinxiandai jiaoyu* 基督教与中國近現代教育 (Christianity and China's Modern Education) (Wuhan: Hubei jiaoyu chubanshe, 1999), pp. 19-20. For an account of the founding of the Morrison Education Society, see Latourette, p. 221. Accounts of the Morrison School can be found in *The Chinese Repository*, Vol. 5 (1836), pp. 373-81; Vol. 6, pp. 229-44 (1837-38); Vol. 7, pp. 301-10 (1838-39); Vol. 10, pp. 564-87 (1841); Vol. 11, pp. 541-57 (1842).

[123] Ye Nong 叶農, "Aomen shuangyu bianzuan dashi Jiang Shawei shenfu jiqi chengguo yanjiu" 澳門双語字典编纂大師江沙维神父及其成果初探 (A Tentative Investigation of the Life of Father Joaquim Afonso Gonçalves and His Achievements in Bilingual Dictionary Compilation), unpublished paper presented at "Missionaries and Translation: Sino-Western Cultural Exchanges in Early Modern China, 1840-1950" jointly organized by Peking University and Ouachita Baptist University, USA (May 2004, Beijing), p. 2.

[124] Couling, p. 519.

[125] George Smith, *A Narrative of an Exploratory Visit to Each of the Consular Cities of China* (originally published in 1847), reprinted in Anthony Sweeting, *Education in Hong Kong, Pre-1841 to 1941: Fact and Opinion: Materials for a History of Education in Hong Kong* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1990), p. 183.

> This year [1843] in the month of May there were two imperial commissioners came to this island [Hong Kong] and visited the British governor and took dinner with him; and one evening they came to the Morrison Education Society School, and Mr. Brown played on the instrument and the boys sung [sic] several pieces, and the visitors seemed to be very much pleased to hear our teacher play and sing.[126]

Apart from Macao and Hong Kong, early evidence of music teaching is also found in the treaty ports opened in the wake of the Treaty of Nanjing. The Ningbo Boys School (Chongxin Yishu 崇信義塾) was one of the first mission schools to have music in its curriculum.[127] Divie B. McCartee and Richard Quartermain Way, both of the American Presbyterian Mission Board founded the school in 1845.[128] Singing, along with Chinese classics, arithmetic, geography and astrology, was a major part of the curriculum of the school.[129]

The first mission school opened in the wake of the Treaty of Tianjin known to have music as part of its curriculum was a small boys school established at Dengzhou, Shandong province in January 1864. The Dengzhou Mengyang Xuetang 登州蒙养學堂, as the school was named in Chinese, was founded by the American Presbyterian Calvin Wilson Mateer and his wife Julia Ann Brown.[130] From the beginning, the Mateers supplemented "the curriculum with courses in arithmetic, geography, science, public speaking and singing, as well as the study of the Bible and other religious

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[126] Extracts from *The Chinese Repository*, Vol. 12 (July 1843), 362 ff.; from Article IV. 'History of Hong Kong: Given in Specimens of Composition by Pupils in the School of the Morrison Education Society', reprinted in Sweeting, *Education in Hong Kong Pre-1841-1941,* p. 165.
[127] Sun Ji'nan, *YYJN*, p. 2; Wu Yongyi, *YYJY*, p. 346.
[128] In 1867, it was removed to Hangzhou and renamed *Yuying yishu* 育英義塾 (Charity School for Fostering Talent), known in English as the Hangchow High School. After 1880 it was directed by the Rev. and Mrs. J. H. Judson. For a brief sketch of the school and its later development, see "The Hangchow High School", *CR*, Vol. 25 (1894), pp. 240-42.
[129] William P. Fenn, *Christian Higher Education in Changing China 1880-1950* (William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1976), p. 129. Wu Yongyi, *YYJY*, p. 346.
[130] For an excellent study of Calvin Mateer, see Irwin T. Hyatt, Jr., *Our Ordered Lives Confess: Three Nineteenth-Century American Missionaries in East Shantung* (Cambridge, Mas.: Harvard University Press, 1976), pp. 139-226; and Shi Jinghuan 史靜寰, "Dengzhou wenhuiguan yu Yanjing daxue- jindai xifang xinjiao chuanjiaoshi zai hua jiaoyu huodong yanjiu" 登州文會舘与燕京大學—近代西方新教傳教士在華教育活動研究 (The Dengzhou College and Yenching University: A Study of Protestant Missionaries and Their Educational Activities in China) (PhD thesis, Beijing Normal University, 1990).

books."[131] As part of Christian "moulding", singing was used to enlarge "the joy of childhood."[132] (More discussion on the music programme of the Dengzhou School will be found in the next chapter).

Evidence of music teaching is also found in mission schools for girls. The American Presbyterian Mary Jane Scott Farnham was responsible in 1861 for introducing music in the girls' school she founded in Shanghai.[133] In the early days of the Mary Farnham School (Qingxin Nüxiao 清心女校) singing, together with Chinese, arithmetic and bible study, was one of the four subjects that constituted the entire school curriculum.[134] St Mary's Hall (Sheng Maliya Nüxiao 聖瑪丽亚女校), which was an amalgamation of Wenji Nüxiao 文纪女校, the girls' school Emma G. Jones (? – 1879) set up in Hongkou district in 1851,[135] and several other schools of the American Episcopalian mission, was well known in Shanghai for its musical programme. Although at the beginning St Mary's Hall had only one piano and two organs, by the year 1903 it had already begun to offer piano as one of its optional subjects. The first known music teacher was Miss M. S. Mitchell 梅锡姑. Music appeared to be a popular subject and at its peak as many as 120 students chose to study the piano. In 1905 singing class was also provided for its middle school students.[136]

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[131] Robert M. Mateer, *Character-Building in China: The Life of Julia Brown Mateer*, p. 44. Charles Hodge Corbett, *Shantung Christian University (Cheeloo)* (New York: United Board for Christian Colleges in China, 1955), p. 15.
[132] Hyatt, p. 189.
[133] Sun Ji'nan, *YYJN*, pp. 2-3; Wu Yongyi, *YYJY*, p. 346.
[134] Dong Dicheng 董涤尘, Zhong Shouzhi 锺寿芝, "Qian Qingxin nüzhong xiaoshi" 前清心女中校史 (History of the Former Pure Heart Girls Middle School) in *Shanghai wenshi ziliao xuanji* 上海文史資料選輯 (Selected Sources in Literature and History of Shanghai) (Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1988), Vol. 59, pp. 286-87.
[135] Wang Lixin 王立新*, Meiguo chuanjiaoshi yu wan qing Zhongguo xiandaihua* 美國傳教士与晚清中國現代化 (American Missionaries and Modernisation of China in the Late Qing Dynasty) (Tianjin: Tianjin remin chubanshe, 1997), p. 227.
[136] Sun Ji'nan, *YYJN*, p. 16.

Music was also an important part in the educational work of the English Presbyterians in Shantou, Guangdong province. According to the Rev. William Paton, singing was part of the curriculum when the English Presbyterians established their seminary in 1870.[137] The True Light (Zhenguang 真光) Seminary, one of the two schools under the auspices of the Presbyterian Church in Canton founded in 1872, also began to teach music from very early on.[138]

Learning to play Western musical instruments was part of the curriculum of mission schools for the blind. As the following photo shows, keyboard instruments such as accordions and organ were among the skills blind children at the blind school of the Church Missionary Society in Fuzhou were instructed to learn.

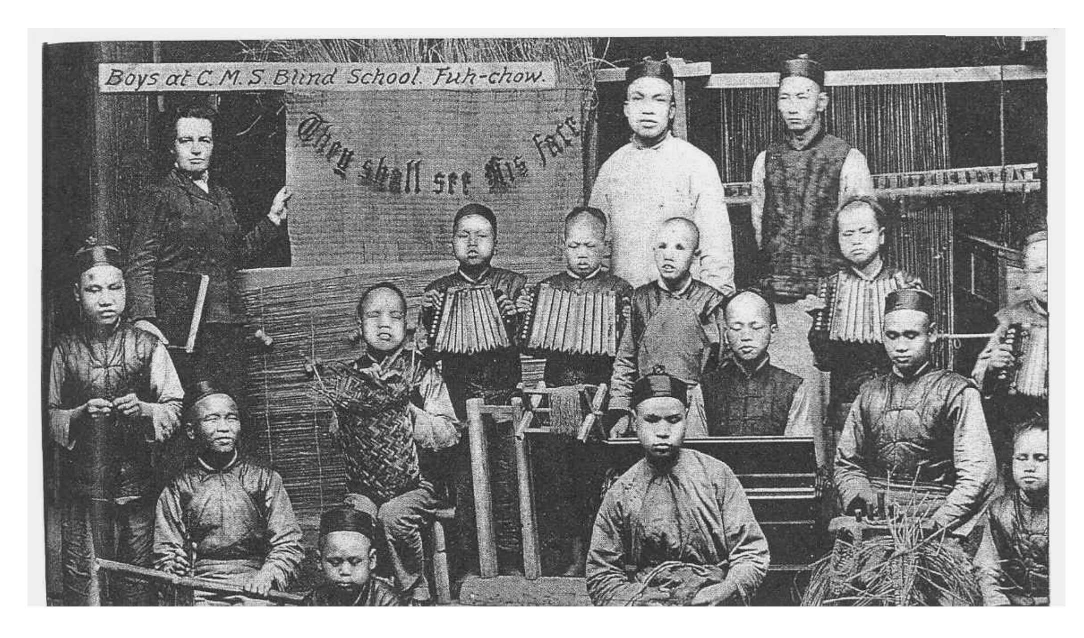


Fig. 2:6: A group of blind boys at a blind school in Fuzhou. From: *Mingxinpian Qingmo Zhongguo* (Late Qing China as seen through postcards) (Beijing: Zhongguo renmin daxue chubanshe, 2004).

Starting from the 1870s missionary educators began to make a conscientious effort to institutionalise music in mission schools of all levels. This was part of a concerted effort on the part of the missionaries to introduce a national school system

[137] William Paton, "Educational Work in Swatow", *CR*, Vol. 19 (1888), p. 82.
[138] Mary R. Anderson, *Protestant Mission Schools for Girls in South China: 1827 to the Japanese Invasion* (Mobile: Heiter-Starke, 1943), p. 103.

for China.[139] In their drive "not only to save but to enlighten the Chinese, confident that God's message lay as much in the workings of an electric light bulb as in theological debate,"[140] Protestant missionaries such as John Fryer, Young J. Allen, W. A. P. Martin, Alexander Wylie and Timothy Richard, were mindful of the importance of music in a modern school system. Ernst Faber 花之安 (1839-1899), the man who was responsible for "initial work in arousing public sentiment to the need of a state-sponsored system of schools in China,"[141] was probably the first Westerner to talk about the place of music in German schools and universities. In his first Chinese work of importance *Da Deguo xuexiao lunlue* 大德國學校論略 (A Brief Description of Schools in Germany), first published in Canton in 1873, Faber included some specific information on how music as a subject of study was taught in the German educational system. He mentioned that in Germany all schools provided instruction in such matters as singing methods and essentials of music theory. He also mentioned specialised institutions, like conservatories of music where students could learn various musical instruments and musical theory from a very young age and become competent instrumentalists. Students, Faber continued, could also learn hymn singing or play the organ or string instruments at various institutions such as theological seminaries, normal schools or at academies for the blind.[142] In his *Jiaohua yi* 教化議 (Principles of Education), first published in 1875 but reissued for wider circulation by the Christian Literature Society for China in the 1890s, Faber again drew attention to the importance of the arts for the development of the moral faculties and for the

[139] For a brief discussion of missionary agitation for educational reform in China in the 1870s, see Gregg, p. 18. Shi Jinghuan and Wang Lixin, pp. 48-50.
[140] Sally Borthwick, *Education and Social Change in China: The Beginnings of the Modern Era* (Stanford, California: Hoover Institution Press, Stanford University, 1983), p. 39.
[141] Gregg, *China and Educational Autonomy*, pp. 22-3.
[142] *Deguo xuexiao lunlüe* 德國学校论略, Vol. 2, Section 13, (1897 edition), cited in Wang Pu "Qingme Mingchu yuegeke zhi xingqi queli jingguo", p. 58; Wu Yongyi, *YYJY* , p. 347.

cultivation of the intellect by listing music as one of the six subjects prescribed for primary education.[143] Faber's emphasis on the importance of music in his agitation for a Western-style modern education in China is also found in his most ambitious book, *Zi xi cu dong* 自西徂東 (Lit., From the West to East), first published in Hong Kong with an English title *Civilisation, Chinese and Christian* in 1884. Making use of his knowledge of the Chinese classics and his interest in Chinese musical system he talked at length about the importance of *li* and *yue* in the education of the Chinese populace.[144] His notion of music, discussed extensively in Chapter 35 of the book, was essentially Confucian. He used ancient Chinese examples and much of the Confucian phraseology and sentiments to stress the didactic function of music, a tactic followed by all missionaries since the Jesuits.[145] With other editions appearing in Shanghai and Hankou this book also had a wide circulation and was influential.[146]

Ernst Faber was not the only prominent Protestant missionary to write about the importance of music in Western educational systems. As early as 1877, Calvin W. Mateer urged his fellow missionaries to equip themselves not only with the skills and knowledge to "teach Chinese classics, but also the common branches of a true education, such as Geography, Arithmetic, Music, General History, and the elements of Natural Philosophy".[147] In his "Xuexiao zhenxing lun" 學校振興論 (On the Promotion of School), published in the influential *Wanguo gongbao* 万國公報

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[143] *CR,* Vol. 7 (May-June 1876), pp. 232-33.
[144] The fact Ernst Faber was interested in Chinese music can be seen in the number of articles he published on the subject. See Faber, "The Chinese Theory of Music", *Notes and Queries on China and Japan* ns, Vol. 4 (1870), pp. 2-4; and "The Chinese Theory of Music", *China Review,* Vol. I: 324-328 & Vol. II: 47-50 (1873-1874).
[145] Hua Zhian [Ernest Faber], *Zi xi cu dong* (Hong Kong: 1884), pp. 179-81.
[146] "In Memoriam. Dr. E. Faber", p. 582. So important was Faber's work in the minds of Protestant missionaries that the Hankow Tract Society singled out *Civilization, Chinese and Christian* as the reading to be used to bring "Christian truth before the educated classes in China" on the occasion of the triennial imperial examinations to be held in provincial capitals in September 1888. See David Hill, "The Triennial Examinations", *CR*, Vol. 19 (June 1888), pp. 282-83.
[147] Calvin W. Mateer, "The Relation of Protestant Missions to Education" in *Records of the General Conference of the Protestant Missionaries of China, May 10-24, 1877, Shangh*ai (Shanghai: Presbyterian Mission Press, 1878), p. 176.

(*Review of the Times*) in 1881, Mateer, in addition to giving a detailed account of the three-tiered school system in the United States, specifically mentioned that this three-tiered school system should include such subjects as medicine, law, theology, music and military strategy.[148] Timothy Richard, the man whose writings were to exercise important influence on the reformist thinking of Kang Youwei and Liang Qichao in the 1890s, also mentioned music as one of the subjects at schools in the West in his 1887 book *Qiguo Xinxue beiyao ji* 七國新學备要记 (Summary of New Learning in Seven Western Countries).[149]

One of the great changes to take place, as far as music was concerned, was the growth of a new willingness to take seriously the role of music in general education. Whereas in previous years Western music was largely confined to Christian Sunday schools, boarding schools for boys and girls and scattered church stations, by the late 1870s and early 1880s, singing had by and large become a required subject in the curriculum of the high school level. In 1877, for example, the English Presbyterian Mission was perhaps the first to prescribe singing as part of the curriculum of its middle school in Shantou.[150] In Fuzhou, when the Anglo-Chinese College, arguably the first Methodist college in Asia,[151] was founded in 1881, music was made a compulsory subject not only in the preparatory but also in the collegiate courses.[152] In Shandong, the English Baptist-sponsored Qingzhou High School, known in Chinese as Guangde Shuyuan 廣德書院, "gave courses in Chinese History and Literature, in Scripture, Mathematics, Geography, Singing, Elementary Science and Ethics."[153]

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[148] For a study of the *Wanguo gongbao*, see Adrian A. Bennett, *Missionary Journalist in China: Young J. Allen and His Magazines, 1860-1883* (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1983), p. 214.
[149] Wang Pu, "Qingme Mingchu yuegeke zhi xingqi queli jingguo", p. 58.
[150] Paton, p. 82.
[151] Robert, p. 174.
[152] Sun Ji'nan, *YYJN*, p. 5.
[153] Corbett, p. 39.

In contrast to previous emphasis on vocal music, some Christian middle schools began to offer formal instruction in instrumental music. Study of instrumental music certainly featured prominently in the Anglo-Chinese College (Zhong-Xi Shuyuan 中西書院) founded in Shanghai in 1882 by the missionary-turned-teacher, translator and publisher Young J. Allen (1836-1907).[154] In the detailed curriculum Allen announced in 1880 music (*qinyun* 琴韵) was the only subject that was to be studied throughout its required eight-year schooling.[155]

Protestant schools were not the only places where instruction in Western music was available. In Shanghai, the Shengfangji Shuyuan 聖芳济書院 (St. Franciscan College?), a middle school established by Father Desjagues in 1874, began from 1880 to teach music to its Chinese students along with such subjects as Latin, Greek, French, English, mathematics, philosophy, Chinese and theology.[156] Nor were the Protestant mission colleges the earliest schools to teach Western instrumental music. The earliest Christian school in China to include instrumental music in its school was a Catholic one named Le Collége de St. Ignatius (Xuhui Gongxue 徐匯公學).[157] Established by the French Jesuits in Shanghai's Catholic stronghold, Xujiahui 徐家匯 in 1850, Le Collége de St. Ignatius consisted of both middle and high school departments and music was one of the electives available to senior students.[158] In a report written in 1857, the principal of the school, Angelo Zottoli 晁德蒞 (1826-1902),

[154] For a study of Allen, see Adrian A. Bennett, *Missionary Journalist in China: Young J. Allen and His Magazines, 1860-1883* (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1983).
[155] Lin Lezhi 林楽知 (Young J. Allen), "ZhongXi shuyuan kecheng guitiao" 中西書院課程規條 (Curriculum and Regulations of the Anglo-Chinese School) (1880), reprinted in Sun Ji'nan, *YYJN* pp. 248-9; Wu Yongyi, *YYJY*, p. 347. For an account of the Anglo-Chinese School and Allen, see Adrian A. Bennett and Kwang-ching Liu, "Christianity in the Chinese Idiom: Young J. Allen and the Early Chiao-hui hsin-pao, 1868-1870" in J.K. Fairbank ed., *The Missionary Enterprise in China and America*, pp. 159-96.
[156] *Shengfangji xueyuan liushi zhounian jinian tekan*, 1934. Cited in Li Chucai, p. 203. Sun Ji'nan, *YYJN*, p. 5
[157] Wu Yongyi, *YYJY*, p. 346.
[158] Wu Yongyi, *YYJY,* pp. 311, 346.

an Italian Jesuit, is said to have praised his students for showing keen interest in music and was pleased with their progress.[159] Another contemporary account, provided by a French Jesuit Francois Ravary (1823-1891), informs us that the school also boasted a well-equipped band.[160] So impressed was the French consul E. N. M. Godeaux with the school band that he, according to Ravary's account written on 18 December 1864, gave the performers thirty silver dollars as an award. The College band afterwards became very active in Shanghai's expatriate communities, performing on important occasions, both secular and sacred.[161] As indicated in the following eyewitness account by Graf von Joseph Alexander Hübner (1811-1892), who visited the school in October 1871, the level of musical proficiency the students managed to achieve was fairly remarkable:

> The superior would not let us go without having improvised a little concert. Under the direction of a Chinese father, four of the students began to play a symphony of Haydn's. The reverend conductor of the orchestra, with a huge pair of spectacles on his nose, directed, cheered, and with baton and eye kept time and guided these juvenile virtuosi, who, fixing their little eyes on the music, and perspiring from every pore, managed to perform very satisfactorily one of the finest compositions of this great master.[162]

Urban centres were not the only places where instruction in music was available. German missionaries of the Basel Mission, in carrying out their motto of spreading "the Gospel among the people of the country," made much use of music in their schools and theological seminaries in the rural areas of Guangdong. So important was music in their evangelical and educational activities, that music, as can be seen from the following curriculum designed for their theological students, constituted one of six core subjects to be studied throughout their four-year study:

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[159] Cited in Wang Pu, "Qingmo Minchu yuegeke zhi xingqi queli jingguo", p. 60; Wu Yongyi, *YYJY,* p. 346. For a brief account of Zottoli and the origin of Le Collége de St. Ignatius, see Gail King, "The Xujiahui (Zikawei) Library of Shanghai", *Libraries and Culture*, Vol. 32, No. 4 (Fall 1997), p. 460
[160] Tao Yabing, pp. 172-73.
[161] Tao Yabing, p. 173.
[162] M. Le Baron de Hübner, *Promenade au tour du monde* (Paris, 1873) translated by Lady Herbert as *A Ramble Round the World* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1874), Vol. 2, p. 195.

> *First year*. – 1. New Testament Exegesis. 2. Old Testament Exegesis. 3. Chinese Literature. 4. Homiletics. 5. Music. 6. Instruction in the art of teaching. 7. Introduction to the Old and New Testament. 8. Church History. 9. Pedagogics.
> *Second year*. – 1. The first six studies in the first year. 2. Dogmatics (Theology). 3. General History, Geography and Natural History (General Review)
> *Third year*. – 1. The first six studies in the first year. 2. Christian Ethics. 3. Confucianism - a critical analysis.
> *Fourth year*. – 1. The first six studies in the first year. 2. Symbolics (Church Polity.) 3. Pastoral Theology.[163]

Christian colleges, an outgrowth of earlier Christian schools, began to appear in China from the 1880s. During the thirty years between 1882 and the end of the Manchu dynasty in 1911, "no fewer than twelve institutions of collegiate rank were founded by Protestant missions."[164] This development in missionary education greatly facilitated the introduction and gradual spread of Western music in the lives of the Christian college students. In addition to the formal incorporation of music in the college curriculum, the use of music and music-related extracurricular activities in the missionary colleges also contributed to the dissemination of Western music in China.



Fig. 2:7: Graduating class of the Ponasang Women's College, Fuzhou, 1901. From: Ryan Dunch, *Fuzhou Protestants and the Making of Modern China 1857-1927*, p. 41.

[163] C. R. Hager, "The Basel Mission", *CR*, Vol. 17 (March 1886), p. 115.
[164] Kwang-ching Liu, "Early Christian Colleges in China", *Journal of Asian Studies,* Vol. 20, No. 1 (1960), p. 71.

The dissemination of Western music among Chinese students in Christian colleges was greatly facilitated by the formation of choirs in mission colleges. In Shanghai, for example, the Rev. Francis Lister Hawks Pott, Headmaster of St. John's College in Shanghai, started a choir soon after he was appointed in 1888. Partially due to his active encouragement, students at St. John's College became interested in Western music, especially in choral singing at this time. "Singing and music," wrote Mrs. Cooper, a teacher there, "have a great attraction for some of the students and they try to improve the choral part of the services by contributing tenor and bass."[165] In Fuzhou the interest in choral singing among Christian college students was such that in the summer of 1901 the Rev. F. Ohlinger of the Methodist Episcopal Mission deemed it necessary to put forward the idea of having "some kind of annual Choral Festival."[166] As an annual event the Fuzhou Choral Union attracted a large number of following. When the festival first started in April 1902, "the largest church in Foochow, holding nearly 2,000 people, was completely crowded out…[and] the Chinese were greatly pleased."[167] In the festival held on the Eastern Monday 1919, "sixteen schools took part" and a general choir of 150 and a special choir of 132 chosen from the University (men) and the College Preparatory (girls) sang big anthems as difficult as "Praise the Lord, O Jerusalem" by Maunder.[168]

Although Fuzhou and Shanghai of course were Christian centres where choral concerts were performed annually on a large scale, there is evidence to suggest that choral concerts were held in other parts of China. According to two notices placed in the *Chinese Recorder*, works such as the *Messiah* by Handel and Mendelssohn's

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[165] Cited in Mary Lamberton, *St. John's University*, *1879-1951* (New York: United Board for Christian Colleges in China, 1955), p. 54.
[166] W. S. Pakenham-Walsh, "The Foochow Choral Union", *CR*, Vol. 50 (June 1919), p. 423.
[167] Pakenham-Walsh, p. 424.
[168] Pakenham-Walsh, p. 424.

Elijah were scheduled to be performed at the annual Sacred Concert at Guling, Hubei province by the Kuling Musical Association in 1916 and 1917 respectively.[169]

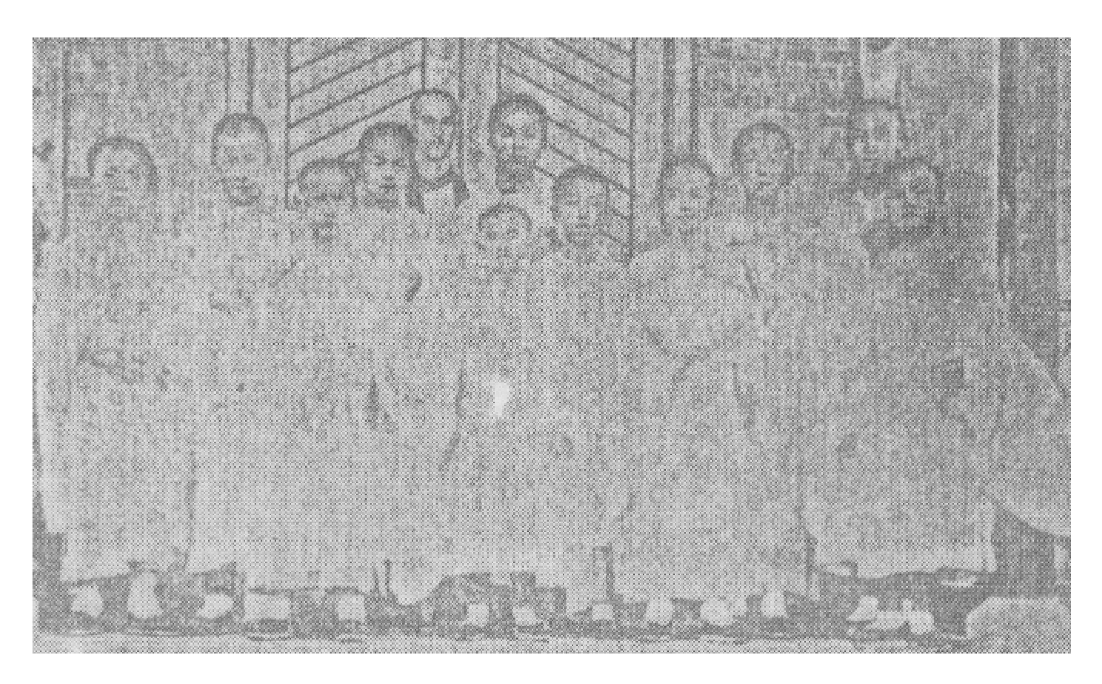


Fig. 2:8: St John's Choir (1890). From: Tao Yabing, *Zhong Xi yinyue jiaoliu shigao*.



Fig. 2:9: A Choir in Fuzhou. From: N. Bitton, *The Regeneration of New China* (London: United Council for Missionary Education, 1914).

169 Wilson H. Geller, "Kuling Sacred Concert", *CR*, Vol. 47 (1916), p. 426; *CR*, Vol. 48 (1917), p. 262.



Fig. 2:10: A school band at a Christian wedding at the turn of the twentieth century. From: Jane Hunter, *The Gospel of Gentility*, p. 195.

Celebration of Christian festivals also helped the spread of aspects of Western musical culture among Chinese students. Mrs. Cooper recalled in 1902:

> From the beginning of the history of St. John's, Christmas was a feast of great moment which was celebrated throughout several days. Various traditional customs grew up around the holiday such as the Christmas Eve Church Service with baptisms, followed by the singing of carols on the lawn in front of the Pro-Cathedral, the entertaining of the whole faculty at supper by the boys of the Preparatory Department in their dining hall, and the singing of carols by the choir and by other societies as they marched around the campus at midnight or after.[170]

Like American counterparts, Chinese students at Christian colleges also formed drum and fife corps and a glee club. The prevalent use of bands was such that on the occasion of "the return of Dr. and Mrs. Pott and family from a year's furlough" in 1903, recalled Mrs. Cooper, "the students, dressed in uniforms, marched out a good distance, headed by the College Drum and Fife Band to welcome their respected

[170] Cited in Lamberton, pp. 54-5.

President."[171] Other Western musical instruments were also prominent in the lives of the St Johns students. Instruments such as the banjo, violin, harp, piano, flute, and fife figured prominently "both on the school's social and ceremonial calendar and in the daily life in student's dormitories."[172]

Apart from being formally introduced as a branch of study, music was also used in mission schools as a means to reinforce school discipline and to maintain control over the lives of the students in Christian institutions. Singing was specified in the opening and closing of the school day. Music-related extra-curricular activities such as group singing on every Saturday morning were also written in the regulations of the Anglo-Chinese College in Fuzhou and vigorously enforced.[173] Similarly, singing for the purposes of maintaining discipline and indoctrination constituted an important part of the daily activities of the North China College (Luhe Shuyuan 潞河書院) at Tongzhou, just outside Beijing. Under the presidency of Rev. Sheffield of the ABCFM, the college regulations stipulated explicitly that students must sing and pray when the college opened at eight o'clock each morning.[174] At St. John's College in Shanghai, the Rev. Francis Lister Hawks Pott used choral singing as a way to encourage his students "to take a more active part in the church services."[175]

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[171] Cited in Lamberton, p. 55.
[172] Wen-hsin Yeh, *The Alienated Academy: Culture and Politics in Republican China, 1919-1937* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1990), p. 70
[173] See "Fuzhou Heling YinHua shuyuan zhangcheng" (Regulations of the Fuzhou Anglo-Chinese Heling College), cited in Tao Yabing, pp. 244-45. Founded in Fuzhou with financial support from a wealthy Chinese merchant Zhang Heling 张鹤龄 [Diong A-hok, d. 1890] by an American named R. S. Maclay of Northern Methodist Episcopal Mission, the Anglo-Chinese College was primarily a secondary school. The Rev. Franklin Ohlinger was the first principal. Academically poorly structured initially, the college became very successful after the arrival in 1883 of George B. Smyth, becoming one of the best-regarded Christian schools in China. See Sun Ji'nan, *YYJN*, p. 5. For a study of the College, see Ryan Dunch, "Mission Schools and Modernity: The Anglo-Chinese College, Fuzhou" in Glen Peterson *et al* eds., *Education, Culture, and Identity in Twentieth-Century China* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2001), pp. 109-36.
[174] Roberto Paterno, "Devello Z. Sheffield and the Founding of the North China College" in Liu Kwang-ching ed., *American Missionaries in China*, p. 81.
[175] Lamberton, p. 30.

With the gradual apperance of music teaching in mission schools and colleges all over China came the improvement of musical standard. Initially, singing in mission schools and colleges consisted of mainly singing in unison. But parts singing soon began to take place in some of the mission schools. When Sarah P. Conger visited Nanjing in late 1904 she was also pleasantly surprised by the part songs performed "in English" by a group of students from a girls' school. On the next day she encountered more musical scenes by schools of mission schools. The students' performance impressed her so much that she noted in her diary the following details of the scene:

> Although the girls and boys do not intermingle, they are taught music so perfectly that when they come to church they carry their allotted parts in harmony. They sang anthems in English, and carried the four parts with assurance. This was foreign in every way to China; it was foreign music, foreign words, a foreign instructor, and in a foreign church; but Chinese girls and boys were here uniting their voices in praises to the good Father of all.[176]

These students, according to Conger, were taught by "a professional musician" who was sent out by the Home Board "to teach music in their missions in the cities along the Yangze."[177] This was indicative of the kind of attention the Church paid to the standard of music teaching in its schools.

This improvement of musical standards on the part of Chinese students is significant. The musical attainments of the North China College students, as the editor of *The Chinese Recorder* admitted, "is not only refreshing, but should be very encouraging to those who may have thought – and which thought was based on very uncomfortable experience – that the Chinese could not become good singers of our classical music, at least for a generation or two yet."[178]

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[176] Sarah P. Conger *Letters from China* (Chicago: A. C. McClurg and Co., 1909), p. 328.
[177] Conger, p. 327.
[178] *CR,* Vol. 29 (1898), p. 513.



Fig. 2:11. Missionary musicale, ca. 1895, Pangzhuang, Zhili province. Source: Jane Hunter, *The Gospel of Gentility: American Women Missionaries in Turn-of-the-Century China* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984).

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Above we have surveyed the musical activities of the China missionaries from the arrival of the first Protestant missionary in China, Robert Morrison, in September 1807 to the early years of the 1900s. A special focus was on the missionaries' use of music in their congregations and their educational work. It is clear that music was important in most of the Christian missions and the schools they sponsored. Some Christian denominations such as the Presbyterians may have stood out as being the more proactive in promoting music in their schools and church activities, but on the whole music as an important tool was indispensable to all Christian missions and mission-sponsored educational activities.

The missionaries had no difficulty tying music to their ostensibly evangelical purposes. Apart from being part of the Christian package, music enhances the

teaching of Christianity. If the teaching of English and other so-called Western subjects, particularly mathematics and the sciences in the 1870s and 1880s, was largely the result of the missionaries' response to their Chinese patrons,[179] the early inclusion of music in the curriculum came solely from missionary initiative because of its usefulness as a tool of direct or indirect evangelism.

The role played by the Protestant missionaries as carriers of Western musical culture in late Qing China was significant. Although a general lack of empirical data on the working of music programme at mission schools and mission stations prevents us from knowing more about such details as to how the Chinese responded when they were taught Western music, there can be no denying that in the process of Christianising China Christian missionaries played a crucial role in introducing and disseminating Western music among the Chinese populace.

Non-Christian Western personnel also played a role in the process of introducing Western music to China. Robert Hart (1835-1911), the Inspector-General of the Imperial Customs Service, for example, organised his own band which featured prominently in the high society of Beijing from the late 1880s to his departure in 1907.[180] There is also evidence that starting from the 1870s performances of Western music were extensive in Shanghai.[181] But these activities were mainly for the enjoyment of European expatriates, not for the Chinese public, and therefore had limited impact on the wider introduction of Western music in China.

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[179] Gael Graham, "Exercising Control: Sports and Physical Education in American Protestant Mission Schools in China, 1880-1930", *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society,* Vol. 20, No. 1. (1994)", pp. 26-28. See also Dana L. Robert, "The Methodist Struggle over Higher Education in Fuzhou, China, 1877-1883", *Methodist History*, Vol. 34, No. 3 (1996), pp. 173-89.

[180] Although a number of studies have been done on Hart's band, most of them derive from Han Guohuang's article "Hede yuedui yanjiu" 赫德樂隊研究 (A Study of Robert Hart's Orchestra) in *Han Guohuang yinyue wenji* 韩國璜音樂文集 (Selected Works on Music by Han Guohuang) (Taibei: Yueyun chubanshe, 1990), Vol. 1, pp. 5-26.

[181] Tao, pp. 188-92.

Christian hymn singing played a major role in the introduction and gradual dissemination of Western music in China. It was responsible for introducing and popularising a new form of singing in China: congregational singing. This new form added a new dimension to the musical life of the Chinese "besides their operas and folksongs."[182] As will be shown in later chapters, it also more importantly provided a useful means whereby non-Christian Chinese reformers could express their social and political ambitions with great effectiveness.

Apart from exposing Chinese Christians to traditional Christian musical styles such as strophic hymn and psalm tunes of either British or American origins, hymn singing also familiarised them with evangelical and gospel hymn tunes in verse-chorus alternation. The missionaries not only facilitated the wide spread of Western music but also laid the foundation for the future development of music education in China. On a pedagogical level, the missionaries were responsible for the introduction of a new way of learning music. The usual Chinese teaching routine had always been by rote but now knowledge and skill of music began to be imparted in classrooms rather than the traditional way of oral transmission.

There were also some obvious limitations concerning the musical activities of the Protestant missionaries in the period. This mainly pertains to the extent to which Western music was disseminated among the Chinese. Geographically, the spread of Western music was confined to a few coastal port cities and urban centres. Socially, for many years the recipients of instruction in Western music consisted mainly of students from low socio-economic origin. Only in the 1890s did students of well-to-do background begin to enrol in mission schools. Music teaching at this phase of development mainly comprised instruction in singing for the purposes of singing the

[182] Jerome Ch'en, *China and the West*: *Society and Culture 1815-1937* (London: Hutchinson, 1979), p. 119.

praise of God and improving the standard of congregational singing. On the whole conscious consideration was not given to the specifics of music education. Moreover, due to the small and, by later standards, primitive nature of most of the mission schools, the study of music suffered from a lack of textbooks, basic educational equipment, systematised course design and a shortage of trained teachers.

CHAPTER THREE

ADAPTATION AND ABSORPTION: THE CASES OF JULIA B. MATEER AND THE RICHARDS

In an investigation of hymnody in the Pacific Islands, Amy K. Stillman has stressed the importance of “coexistence and absorption” and pointed out the “differences in teaching strategies and hymnal printing” among missionaries. Stillman writes:

> In many, if not most, areas, islanders surpassed simply learning to sing the introduced hymn tunes. Indigenised idioms began to emerge by the late nineteenth century, in which introduced musical materials - including scales, harmonisation, and rhythms- were combined with features from indigenous musical traditions; in many cases these idioms came to coexist with, rather than replace, the introduced hymn tune repertory.[1]

This is by no means unique to the Pacific Islands. Several scholars have discussed the ways in which missionaries appropriated native musical traditions all over the world in order to propagate the Christian doctrines.[2] This is just as true of the situation in China. As will be demonstrated in the following, the dissemination of Western music through the medium of the Protestant hymn was not a one-way process with a linear trajectory. Musical exchange in this case was neither unilateral, nor systematic or methodical, but a complex process of mutual learning, adaptation and absorption.

To illustrate this point, I shall make a detailed case study of the work of two Protestant couples of different nationality and denomination: the Rev. Calvin Mateer of the American Presbyterian Mission and his wife Julia; and the British Baptists the Rev. Timothy Richard and his wife Mary. Special attention is paid to two music

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[1] Stillman, “Prelude to a Comparative Investigation of Protestant Hymnody in Polynesia”, p. 89.

[2] See Henry Weman, *African Music and the Church in Africa* (Uppsala: Svenska Institutet fûr Missionsforskning, 1960); A. M. Jones, *African Hymnody in Christian Worship* (Gwelo, Rhodesia: Mambo Press, 1976); Vida Chenoweth, “Spare Them Western Music!” in *Evangelical Missions Quarterly* (January 1984), pp. 30-5; Jean and John Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution: Christianity, Colonialism, and Consciousness in South Africa* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1991), Vol. 1.

teaching manuals: *Yuefa qimeng* 樂法啓蒙 (Rudiments of Music) by Julia Mateer and *Xiao shipu* 小詩譜 (Tune-book in Chinese Notation) by the Richards.[3]

Julia B. Mateer and the Dengzhou Boys' School

Article XI of the "Treaty of Peace, Commerce and Navigation between Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland and the Emperor of China" signed at Tianjin on June 26, 1858, reads as follows:

> In addition to the cities and towns of Canton, Amoy, Foochow, Ningpo and Shanghai, opened by the treaty of Nanking, it is agreed that British subjects may frequent the cities and ports of Newchwang, Tangchow, Taiwan (Formosa), Chao-chow (Swatow) and Kiung-chow (Hainan).[4]

The place referred to here as "Tangchow" is more widely know as Dengzhou. It is situated on the northern shore of the Shandong peninsular. Of the earliest Protestant missionaries attracted by the opportunities in the newly opened North were two American Presbyterians Calvin Wilson Mateer 狄考文 (1836-1908) and his wife Julia Ann Brown 狄就烈 (1837-1899).[5]

The Mateers reached Dengzhou on January 15, 1864. On September 25, they started the Dengzhou Boys' School in a dilapidated Buddhist temple, the Guanyin Tang 觀音堂 (the Temple of the Goddess of Mercy).[6] Starting out with only six boarders and two day pupils from poor families, the school suffered the usual

[3] I am aware, of course, that to focus on individual cases may be somewhat misleading, because it might be deemed unrepresentative, but I feel that to do so will allow me to raise some specific questions that do, I think, pertain to the larger project.
[4] Cited in Corbett, pp. 3-4.
[5] According to Corbett, the first Protestant missionary to make overland trips to Dengzhou was the Rev. J. L. Holmes of the American Southern Baptist Board, who arrived there in the summer of 1859. See Corbett, p. 5.
[6] Hyatt, *Our Ordered Lives Confess*, pp. 147, 159. Corbett, p. 10. Robert M. Mateer, *Character-Building in China*, p. 41.

drawbacks associated with early mission schools.[7] In spite of a lack of basic facilities and the hostile local environment, the school grew steadily to include thirty students in 1869.[8] In its early years, the school's curriculum was restricted to the Chinese Classics and Christian ethics. But the Mateers supplemented "the curriculum with courses in arithmetic, geography, science, public speaking and singing, as well as the study of the Bible and other religious books such as the *Peep of Day*, *Pilgrim's Progress, Evidences of Christianity* and the *Catechism*."[9] In 1877 when the school was expanded to include primary and secondary departments and adopted the rather pretentious Chinese name Wenhui Guan 文會館 (lit., Literary Guild Hall),[10] music was made a compulsory subject for the primary department.[11] In 1882 the school reorganised itself yet again as a college and adopted the name Dengzhou College, music remained an integral part of the curriculum. In addition, students were also encouraged to use music in all school activities and compose their own pieces.[12]

Among Protestant missionary educators, Calvin Mateer was perhaps best known for his work as the founder of Shandong Christian University - arguably the first Christian university in China.[13] Convinced that sciences and mathematics were the most effective means in eradicating superstition in China, he became "one of the first people to teach the skills of the modern West in China, to an appreciable number of people and in a setting at once Christian, scientific, and Chinese."[14] Although nominally Calvin Mateer was the principal of the Dengzhou Boys' School, it was his

[7] Mateer, *Character-Building in China*, p. 41. Corbett, pp. 10-11. Hyatt, p. 160.
[8] Lutz, *China and the Christian Colleges,* p. 28.
[9] Corbett, p. 15. Mateer, *Character-Building in China*, p. 44.
[10] Hyatt, pp. 173-75.
[11] *Wenhui Guan dianzhang* 文會館典章 (Rules and Regulations of the Dengzhou College) (Shanghai, 1891), p. 10b.
[12] Wang Yuande 王元德 and Liu Yufeng 劉玉峰 eds., *Wenhuiguan zhi* 文會館志 (History of Tengchow College) (Weixian, 1913), pp. 66-72.
[13] Kwang-ching Liu, "Early Christian Colleges in China", p. 71. For a hagiography of Calvin Mateer, see Daniel Webster Fisher, *Calvin Wilson Mateer, Forty-Five Years A missionary in Shantung, China: A Biography* (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1911).
[14] Hyatt, *Our Ordered Lives Confess*, p. 139.

wife Julia who started this little school in the first place and acted as the driving force behind the school. Up to 1873, Julia virtually ran "the school alone" and acted "as a combined head teacher and housemother."[15]


Fig 3:1. Julia. B. Mateer


DIPLOMA

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文憑

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中國史記　代形合參　格物學　地理志　形學
萬國通鑑　圓錐曲線　心靈學　代數學　羅馬
福音合參　省身指掌　是非學　八線學　樂法
天道溯原　救世之妙　富國策　測量學　體操

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Figs. 3:2. Diploma of the Wenhui Guan.

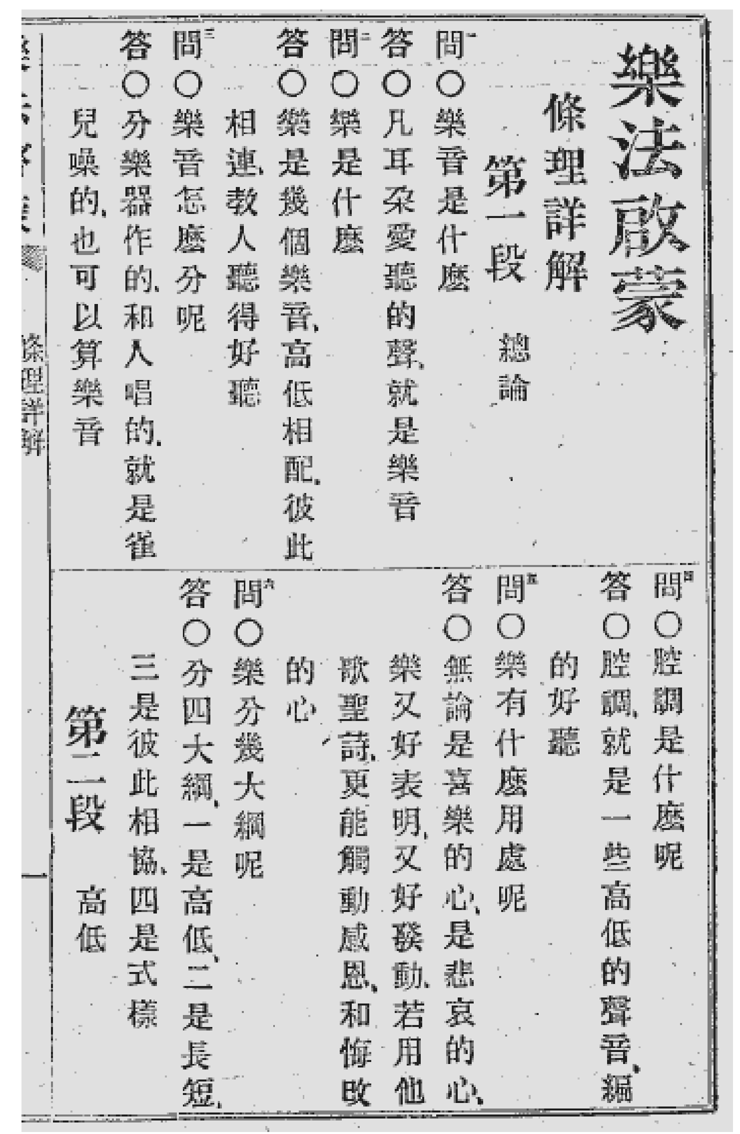
Julia B. Mateer, *Yuefa qimeng* 樂法啓蒙 and the *Sheng shipu* 聖詩譜

Yuefa qimeng 樂法啓蒙 (Rudiments of Music), arguably the first of its kind to appear in China, was a little music primer based on the teaching manual Julia Brown Mateer used at the Dengzhou Boys' School (Dengzhou Mengyang Xuetang 登州蒙养學堂) in the 1860s.[16] According to Julia Mateer's own account, *Yuefa qimeng* was first published in 1872. A supplement was added in 1879.[17] Apart from an introductory section on the basic elements of music, it also contained a collection of hymns, mostly in two parts. As a teaching primer, it was designed primarily for the

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[15] Hyatt, *Our Ordered Lives Confess*, p. 159-61.
[16] A small coterie of Chinese musicologists have in recent years noticed the importance of this little primer and touched upon it in their research. Sun Ji'nan, Liu Qi, and Liang Yongsheng were among the first scholars to mention this book. Also see Tao Yabing, pp. 162-65.
[17] Julia B. Mateer, "Preface" (dated July, 1892) to *Sheng shipu*.

teaching of the principles of Western music to mission school students and Chinese converts. The number of reprints indicates that this book was used widely during the last three decades of the nineteenth century. From 1872 to 1913 at least four editions were issued.



樂法啟蒙

條理詳解

第一段　總論

問一○樂音是什麼

答○凡耳朶愛聽的聲、就是樂音

問二○樂是什麼

答○樂是幾個樂音、高低相配、彼此相連、教人聽得好聽

問三○樂音怎麼分呢

答○分樂器作的、和人唱的、就是雀兒嗓的、也可以算樂音

問四○腔調是什麼呢

答○腔調、就是一些高低的聲音、編的好聽

問五○樂有什麼用處呢

答○無論是喜樂的心、是悲哀的心、樂又好表明、又好發動、若用他歌聖詩、更能觸動感恩、和悔改的心

問六○樂分幾大綱呢

答○分四大綱、一是高低、二是長短、三是彼此相協、四是式樣

第二段　高低

Fig. 3:3. A page from *Yuefa qimeng*

Missionaries were not the only ones to show interest in the book, for "many inquiries for the book" actually came "on the part of Chinese."[18] In 1892 Julia Mateer published a revised and much-enlarged edition under a new but rather confusing Chinese title, the *Shengshi pu* 聖詩譜.

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[18] Mateer, "Preface".

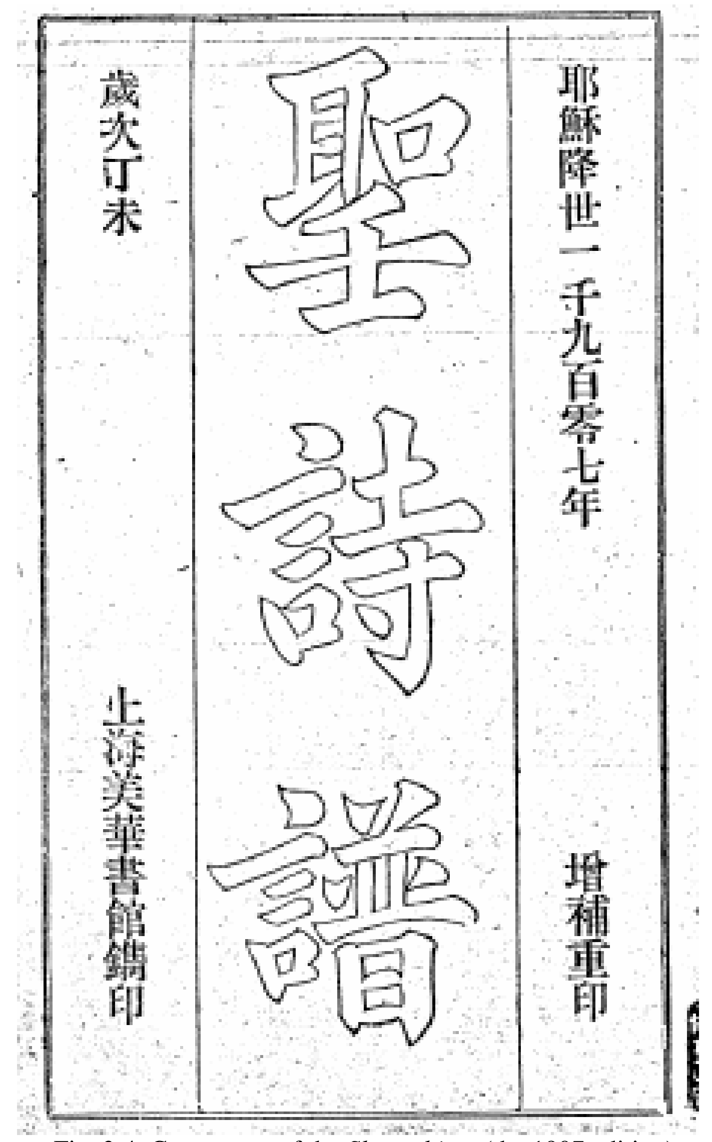


Fig. 3:4. Cover page of the *Shengshi pu* (the 1907 edition)

As will be seen in the following, although the Chinese title *Shengshi pu* literarily means *An Anthology of Sacred Hymns*, it is not a hymnal in the conventional sense of the word. The original English title, *Principles of Vocal Music and Tune Book,*[19] on the other hand, is more in accordance with the contents of the book. This title, as will be discussed presently, not only reveals the theoretical orientation of the book but also betrays its American connection.

Compared to its 1872 original, this 1892 edition was much-enlarged, both in terms of actual size and contents. There are more than 360 hymns along with a

[19] J. C. J. "Notes on Chinese Music", *CR*, Vol. 17 (1886), p. 363.

detailed introduction to the rudiments of Western musical theory.[20] Even as "a collection of church tunes without hymns, except a verse in each case as a guide in learning the tune," it still comprised 200 pages.[21]

The significance of this 1892 edition can be seen in a number of ways. This edition represents a good example of the ways in which missionaries actively responded to their Chinese audiences. It reveals, to use the words of Gael Graham in the context of sports and physical education in mission schools at the turn of the twentieth-century China, much of the "complex dynamic of initiative, negotiation, and accommodation between Chinese patrons and missionary educators."[22] As Julia Mateer made clear in her Chinese preface to the 1892 edition, the enlargement was largely a result of the spread of Christian churches in China and of the increased interest in Western music over the intervening years. As far as the contents were concerned, the new edition made use of melodies with four parts instead of two-part tunes adopted in the previous edition, and thus increased its levels of difficulty. From an international perspective, this level of difficulty was by no means below European standards at the time. For example, the music curriculum developed for public schools in Switzerland at the same time, as reflected in such textbooks for children as *Gesangbuch* (1869) and *Gesangbuch* (1867), included two-part songs for grades four through six, and three-part songs for secondary schools.[23] The change in the levels of difficulty in Mateer's book was due to the improved singing skill on the part of Chinese members of Christian congregations.[24] In Mateer's own words, "The

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[20] Di Jiulie (Julia Mateer), "*Sheng shipu* buxu" 聖詩譜补序 (Supplementary Preface to *Sheng shipu*, 1893). Reprinted in Zhang Jingwei, *YYSL*, p. 96.
[21] Mateer, "Preface".
[22] Graham, "Exercising Control", p. 26.
[23] For a discussion of these books, see Sondra Wieland Howe, "Swiss-German Music Books in the Mason-McConathy Collection: Accounts from Europe to the United States", *Journal of Research in Music Education*, Vol. 48, No. 1 (Spring 2000), p. 31.
[24] Di Jiulie, "*Sheng shipu* buxu", p. 96.

increasing number of Chinese who learn to sing in four parts, seemed to require the insertion of the tenors and altos, whilst the great variety of new hymns and the increased attention to singing, called for a larger and more varied selection of tunes."[25]

Written in the form of teacher-pupil dialogues that was in vogue in American school textbooks of the time, musical fundamentals were briefly explained in the book by using simple Mandarin vernacular (*guanhua*) rather than the literary *wenli*. Since this book also contained exercises, it essentially constituted an organised music curriculum for all the grades of the elementary and secondary schools at the time. In spite of the number of hymns included, the design as a textbook rather than an ordinary hymnbook is clearly stated by the author in the 1872 original Chinese preface to the book:

> In the past when I worked hard to teach my students and members of our congregation I was often troubled by a lack of suitable music books. So I began to make an effort to sort out some essentials of music and select some relevant repertoire. Initially it was just for my students but later I thought it would be better if I could turn it into a book so that everyone involved in teaching the subject could benefit. Therefore I made further modifications and added more materials. This was how this book came into being.[26]

Julia Mateer was not unaware of the existence of other missionary writings on music, including that of the Jesuits. Her reference to the *lülü zhengyi* is indicative of the depth of her understanding of the subject matter. Yet she was well aware of the inherent defects of previous missionary work. Critical of the outdated nature of the *lülü zhengyi,* she was also dissatisfied with the inaccessibility of the Jesuits' writings on music.[27]

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[25] Mateer, "Preface".
[26] Di Jiulie (Julia Mateer), "Sheng shipu xu"《聖詩譜》序 (Preface to *Sheng shipu*, 1872), reprinted in Zhang Jingwei, *YYSL*, p. 93.
[27] Di Jiulie, "*Sheng shipu* xu", p. 93. Contemporary Chinese musicologists concurr with her when they point out the outdated nature of the musical theory introduced in the *lülü zhengyi*. See Wang Zhenya, "Xiyang yueli shuru tanyuan", p. 62.

Mateer was aware of China's indigenous musical traditions, pointing out some of the basic similarities between Chinese and Western scales. But she chose to teach her students Western music theory. As she explained, this was because the Chinese system was not as complete and accurate as its Western counterpart. But a more important consideration was that prevalent Chinese tunes, being mostly for entertainment, lacked solemnity and therefore were not suitable for Christian worship.[28] Clearly, it was not so much the theoretical aspects of Western music that Julia Mateer was mainly concerned about. Her ultimate concern was to facilitate the teaching of hymn singing on a large and wider scale. In her own words:

> The purpose of writing this book is to help teachers in various parts of China to teach their students and their members of congregations in singing hymns. Besides, it is hoped that Chinese Christians who are talented in singing will have a good method whereby they not only can teach themselves but also instruct other Christians so that everyone can sing hymns in praise of God.[29]

This utilitarian underpinning in her approach to music teaching, however, should not prevent us from recognising the value of Julia Mateer's *Yuefa qimeng*. Apart from adopting the "question-and-answer" format in theoretical exposition, the practice of introducing the movable *do* concept, commonly used in mid nineteenth-century American schools to simplify the learning process,[30] also featured conspicuously in the book. As in the tune books in European notation with four-syllable concept published in America before 1839, Mateer began with a definition of music and followed with an introduction to the "gamut", which showed the syllable name of the notes. To cater to her Chinese audience, she also used Chinese numerals to denote these notes. Note values were then explained. But instead of adhering to the four-syllable concept, she followed Lowell Mason's example by adopting the Italian

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[28] Di Jiulie, "*Sheng shipu* xu", p. 94. As will be seen in the next chapter, Chinese converts were to cite the same reason for rejecting the use of Chinese tunes in Christian services.
[29] Di Jiulie, "Sheng shipu buxu", p. 96.
[30] Beula E. Blum, "Solmization and Pitch Notation in Nineteenth-Century American School Music Textbooks", *Journal of Research in Music Education*, Vol. 29, No. 4 (Winter 1971), p. 451.

seven-syllable concept. The latter practice was relatively new in the United States at the time, as it did not gain wide currency in American popular music education until after the publications of Mason's *Boston Handel and Haydn Society's Collection of Church Music* in 1822 and *Manual of the Boston Academy of Music* in 1834.[31] In the area of notation, Mateer followed nineteenth-century American school texts by using the ordinary staff notation with some modification. Like most of the American tune books produced between 1801 and 1860,[32] she employed an orthodox European notation known as "round notes." In this system, "Time, pitch and the various transpositions of the scale, are all indicated in precisely the usual way."[33] The term "transposition" she used here was a relatively new concept even in the context of school music education in the nineteenth-century West. In America, for example, "teachers used the term transposition to refer to the building of identical diatonic scale structures from any keytone in the musical gamut."[34] In the 1892 edition she borrowed from the "Akian"[35] system by adopting "the use of seven shapes to represent the syllables used in solfaing."[36] But she did not deviate from the concept of a seven-degree scale on which most of the nineteenth-century American tune books were based. Like her American contemporaries, Mateer made no real effort to alter the staff notation.

[31] Phil D. Perrin, "Systems of Scale Notation in Nineteenth-Century American Tune Books", *Journal of Research in Music Education*, Vol. 18, No. 3 (Fall 1970), p. 258.
[32] For a study of notational systems used in nineteenth-century American tune books, see Phil D. Perrin, "Theoretical Introductions in American Tune Books from 1801 to 1860" (D.M.A. diss., Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1968).
[33] Mateer, "Preface".
[34] Blum, p. 445.
[35] Corbett, *Shantung Christian University*, p. 16.
[36] Mateer, "Preface".



Fig. 3:5. Notation used in the *Shen shipu*.

The seven-shape system referred to here was first developed by Jesse Aikin in 1846. “The shapes of the notes were varied to indicate their position on the diatonic scale,” as the following illustration shows. “If the note was shaped like a triangle, with apex above, the singer knew if was ‘*do*’; no matter where it was placed on the staff. A semicircle was used for ‘*re*”; a diamond for ‘*mi*’; a right-angled triangle for ‘*fa*’; an ellipse for ‘*sol*’; a square for ‘*la*’; and an inverted cone for ‘*ti*’.” [37]

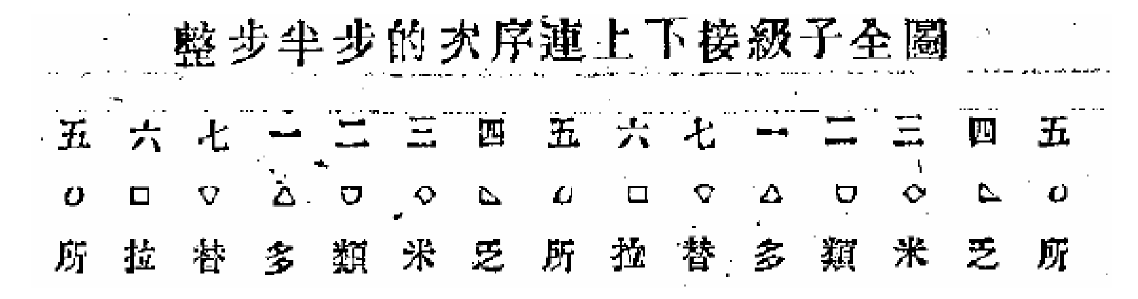


Fig. 3:6. The seven shape notes used in the *Shen shipu*, p. 3

The Aikin’s system of seven shapes, though appearing as early as 1847 when he compiled *Christian Minstrel*, did not become standard practice in the US until around 1870.[38]

[37] Corbett, p. 16.
[38] For a brief discussion of the seven-character notation, see Perrin, pp. 260-61.

Mateer's choice of the Aikin system was made with practical consideration. She was well aware the fact that "Akian [sic] system [was] devised by an American musician in the interest of simplicity and for the benefit of persons learning to sing without the aid of an instrument."[39] The system may be an ideal way to read simple music and it was indeed "extremely useful for beginners, who had had no previous knowledge of music",[40] but it was not suited to handle more sophisticated musical pieces. Yet because the seven shapes were useful in helping Chinese to sing, they were "the only part of it [the Aikin system] used in the book."[41] Here once again, the missionary's pragmatism is revealed. As Gael Graham has pointed out in a different context, "If the Chinese did, in fact, sometimes respond to the missionaries, it is clear that in many instances missionaries were responding to the Chinese."[42]

Of course, we can hardly fault Julia Mateer for not foreseeing the problem because she had never intended to introduce to the Chinese the more sophisticated Western musical skills, as represented by the Western Classical tradition. Her immediate concern was to find a way to battle the problem that many of her Chinese followers faced in "[l]earning to sing the round notes readily and accurately through all their transpositions."[43]

In her teaching approach, Julia Mateer clearly shared with her American secular music educators the common trait of being both eclectic and innovative. She believed that "the plays and games of happy childhood, the beauties of nature, animate and

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[39] Mateer, "Preface".
[40] Corbett, p. 16. George H. Kyme, "An Experiment in Teaching Children to Read Music with Shape Notes", *Journal of Research in Music Education*, Vol. 8 (Spring, 1960), pp. 3-8. This system was viewed by reformers of music education in America as a notational system more suitable for "country people and inferior indigenous music." Perrin, p. 261.
[41] Mateer, "Preface". In the nineteenth century, the shape-note system helped a lot of American singers to gain their musical literacy and these singers were in turn "instrumental in stimulating interest in both the old and new tune books." See Brett Sutton, "Shape-Note Tune Books and Primitive Hymns", *Ethnomusicology*, Vol. 26, No. 1 (1982), p. 13.
[42] Graham, "Exercising Control", p. 25.
[43] Mateer, "Preface".

inanimate, friendship, domestic love, the pleasures and employments of school days or the festivals which form so large a part of the enjoyments of the people are all legitimate subjects of songs."[44] Apart from propagating the Christian doctrines, her incorporation of music in the Dengzhou Boys' School was also aimed at enlarging "the joy of childhood."[45]



Fig. 3:7. Chinese tunes used in the *Shen shipu*.

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[44] Julia Mateer, "What School Songs and Songs for Recreation and Amusement Should We Teach and Encourage in Our Schools? Have Such Songs Been Tried, and If so with What Result?" in *Records of the Second Triennial Meeting of the Educational Association of China held at Shanghai,* (May 6-9, 1896), p. 106.

[45] Cited in Hyatt, p. 189.

Julia Mateer's pedagogical eclecticism is also reflected in her selection of tunes. Apart from using orthodox hymn melodies, she also experimented with China's indigenous musical traditions, using such well-known Chinese folk songs as *Fangyang qü* 凤陽曲 (Melody of Fengyang), *Duanyang qu* 端陽曲 (Melody of the Dragon Boat Festival) and the popular Chinese instrumental piece *Liuba* 六八 (the 68-beat) as exercises (see Fig. 3:7).[46]

Although she was rather non-committal about "Whether the Chinese Christians should sing Western tunes or adapt their tunes to sacred song," she had no objection to either adapting Chinese tunes to hymns or writing new songs "with specific reference to Chinese taste."[47] Her earlier short piece entitled "List of Musical Terms in Chinese" in Justus Doolittle's *A Vocabulary and Handbook of Chinese Language*,[48] clearly indicates that her interest in the native musical tradition was not a sudden outburst.

Julia Mateer's use of indigenous musical materials was reflective of the firm belief she and her husband shared in the indigenisation of the Church. To a certain extent, Julia's appropriation of Chinese folk songs and instrumental repertoire can be interpreted as an endorsement to her husband's insistence that "education should serve the aim of providing a native ministry, that all instruction should be given in Chinese and that this should be done through the medium of the Chinese dialects."[49]

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[46] The 68-beat model, also called the *lao baban* 老八板 (the old eight-beat), is "the most pervasive structure in China." (Thrasher, "Hakka-Chaozhou Instrumental Repertoire: An Analytic Perspective on Traditional Creativity" in *Asian Music*, Vol. 19, No. 2 (1988), p. 1). It serves as a formal model for a large percentage of vocal as well as instrumental repertoires. For a recent musicological analysis of the model, see Marnix St. J. Wells, "Rhythm and Phrasing in Chinese Tune-Title Lyrics: Old Eight-Beat and Its 3-2-3 Meter", *Asian Music*, Vol. 23, No. 1 (1991-1992) pp. 119-83.
[47] Mateer, "Preface".
[48] J. C. J. "Notes on Chinese Music", p. 363.
[49] Calvin W. Mateer, "Discussion on the importance of vernacular Christian literature" in *Records of the General Conference of the Protestant Missionaries of China, held at Shanghai, May 10-24, 1877* (Shanghai: Presbyterian Mission Press, 1878), cited in Bolton, Kingsley. *Chinese Englishes - A Sociolingusitic History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 192-93.

Julia Mateer's use of the vernacular rather than the literary classical style for the purpose of easy comprehension is another example of her missionary pragmatism. Clearly she shared her husband's belief in the importance of colloquial language in spreading the Gospel. As early as 1877, Calvin Mateer declared:

> I believe in colloquial literature, as the kind of literature of the Christian work in China. Who believe the gospel we preach? Who fill all churches? The unlearned and the poor. Let us adapt our Bibles, our books, and religious literature generally, to the class of people He gives us. If colloquial language is good enough to preach the Gospel, it is good enough to write it also.[50]

This bears more than a slight resemblance to Julia's use of native songs in her music teaching and explains why Julia took such trouble to incorporate indigenous materials into her music teaching.

Julia B. Mateer and the Complexity of Missionary-Initiated Music Teaching

The case of the Mateers raises questions of nationalism and missionary education. Many music historians and musicologists in China have long believed that mission schools were a fertile nursing ground for cultural annihilation. Graduates of the mission schools, they claim, had a deep-rooted contempt for their native tradition and an unhealthy admiration for things Western as a result of their religious indoctrinations.[51] But Calvin Mateer's stress on using Mandarin as a medium of teaching and Julia's musical work not only represented a desire to affirm a Chinese cultural identity but also in reality strengthened national consciousness among their students. Given that the missionaries were the first to fuse elements of Western music with indigenous folk tunes and instrumental melodies, I would go as far as to argue that in terms of utilising "national form" (*minzu xingshi* 民族形式) to serve utilitarian

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[50] Mateer, "Discussion on the importance of vernacular Christian literature", p. 193.
[51] Li Chucai ed., *Diguo zhuyi qinhua jiaoyushi ziliao*.

purposes, an often hotly debated issue in the arts in China, the missionaries in the nineteenth century, not Communist propagandists in the 1930s and 1940s, were the pioneers.[52]

There is no question that Julia Mateer's musical work was primarily a by-product of her Christian zeal and Calvin Mateer's attention to education was driven by the need to train teachers for Christian schools and "through them to introduce to China the superior education of the West."[53] But to dismiss their efforts as mere manifestations of Western cultural imperialism is a gross oversimplification. "The mere communication of ideas and values across national borders is not in itself imperialism--except in the view of Communist states that fear the idea of 'ideological coexistence.'"[54] Rather than depriving students of their cultural inheritance and identity, both Calvin and Julia Mateer actively encouraged them to seek nourishment in their indigenous tradition. This not only resulted in the awakening but also further strengthening of the national consciousness of their students.[55] Unlike the majority of foreign missionaries, Julia Mateer's attitude toward Chinese music was informed by a cultural view that was essentially relativist in nature. This is clearly reflected in a paper she read at the Triennial Meeting of the Educational Association of China in 1896:

> All nations in all ages from the time of Jubal and Lamech have had songs and instruments of music adapted to their various tastes and circumstances. The fact that what is music to one people is hideous noise to another only shows the diversity of tastes--- not that any one people are destitute of the musical faculty.[56]

[52] In addition to numerous studies done in China, the Chinese communists' use of national form has been explored by a number of Western scholars. See Holm, *Art and Ideology in Revolutionary China.*
[53] Latourette, pp. 441-42
[54] Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., "The Missionary Enterprise and the Theories of Imperialism" in Fairbank ed., *The Missionary Enterprise in China and America*, p. 363.
[55] Hyatt, p. 189.
[56] Mateer, "What School Songs…", p. 105.

Julia was convinced that the Chinese needed "their own tunes" and Western music that suited "Chinese taste and voices," even though these tunes might "violate some of the rules of harmony."[57] After all, "so great a people is entitled to its own style of music, if only it has in it the spirit of life and growth."[58]

Although "the chief object in teaching the pupils in our mission schools to sing is," as Julia Mateer stated, "that they may be able to join acceptably and with profit in this service,"[59] Christian indoctrination was not the only reason for her inclusion of music in the curriculum of Dengzhou Boys' School. As she put it:

> songs have other uses. Youth is naturally buoyant and joyful. Song is the natural expression and accompaniment of joy. If God is pleased with the singing of birds, the humming of bees, the lowing of cattle as their expression of the joy of living, how much more with the joyous songs of happy childhood.[60]

In her practical guide for the nineteenth-century housewife, Catharine Beecher wrote: "To American women, more than any others on earth, is committed the exalted privilege of extending over the world those blessed influences, which are to renovate degraded man, and 'to clothe all climes with beauty.'"[61] In making music an integral part of the life of the Dengzhou School, Julia Mateer was clearly attempting "to clothe all climes with beauty." Like other contemporary American women missionaries discussed by Jane Hunter, Julia Mateer relied on "blessed influence" instead of direct authority.[62] Music was certainly used as an important means by Mateer to exert such an influence.

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[57] Mateer, "What School Songs …," p. 107.
[58] Mateer, "What School Songs …," p. 107.
[59] Mateer, "What School Songs…," p. 105.
[60] Mateer, "What School Songs…," p. 105.
[61] Catharine Beecher, A Treaty on Domestic Economy (1842), cited in Jane Hunter, *The Gospel of Gentility: American Women Missionaries in Turn-of-the-Century China* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984), p. xiii.
[62] Hunter, p. xiv. Although nominally Calvin Mateer served as the principal of the Dengzhou Boys' school it was his wife Julia who started this little school in the first place and acted as the driving force behind the school. Up to the year 1873, Julia virtually ran the school alone, acting "as a combined head teacher and housemother." Hyatt, *Our Ordered Lives Confess*, p. 161. For a moving account of Julia Mateer by her student, see Zhu Baochen 朱葆琛, "Difuren Bang Jiulie shilue" 狄夫人邦就烈事略 (A

Mateer's strong utilitarian view of music is not surprising given her American Presbyterian background and the mid-nineteenth-century American emphasis on the social values of music.[63] Apart from being a form of "amusement and entertainment", songs, Julia Mateer argued, "affect the character as well":

> Patriotism is inspired and nourished in Western lands by our national songs and anthems. Had the Chinese possessed even one widely popular national song with any associations of heroic or patriotic story is it possible that of all the battles in the late war they would not have gained a single one? No martial or heroic spirit can ever be aroused by the little ditty with which the cornet calls the foreign-drilled troops to their daily exercises, or the noisy drums and the solitary monotonous air that accompany the soldier to battle, the youth to his wedding and the old man to his grave. Can a people ever become really great without patriotic and heroic songs?
> Song is also an effective means of instruction and even of reformation. Many a lesson in morals and propriety may be sung into minds it could never be preached into; and many a fault may be sung out of the conduct which neither rules nor chastisement would drive out.[64]

As will be seen in later chapters, Chinese reformers of education would cite exactly the same rationale for justifying their promotion of music in modern Chinese schools.

Mateer was also a firmer believer in the importance of music in the development of children's imagination and creativity:

> We have in English numbers of songs for recreation and amusement, mirth-provoking, hilarious enough for the jolliest youth, yet without a trace of vulgarity or irreverence. Why not encourage and even urge Chinese youth to write and sing such songs, and thus waken in them a larger spirit of innocent fun and frolic?[65]

Due to her effort an atmosphere conducive to the development of arts within the school existed. She not only taught music in class but also actively encouraged her students to use music in all school activities.[66] As a result of her encouragement, the students in the Dengzhou College and Girls' High School were able not only to

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Brief Sketch of the Life and Work of Mrs. Julia Brown Mateer) in Wang Yuande and Liu Yufeng eds., *Wenhuiguan zhi*, p. 11.

[63] See James H. Stone, "Mid-Nineteenth-Century American Beliefs in the Social Values of Music", *Musical Quarterly*, Vol. 43, No. 1 (1957), pp. 38-49.

[64] Mateer, "What School Songs…," p. 106.

[65] Mateer, "What School Songs…," p. 106.

[66] Mateer, *Character-Building in China*, p. 46. Corbett, p. 16. Hyatt, p. 170.

“translate a good many songs” but also to write “a good many new ones to Western tunes.” They even managed to compose “three or four songs, of which both words and tunes are original.”[67] The following is a part of a song written by one of the students of the Dengzhou College.



Fig. 3:8. A song written by Feng Zhiqian, an early student of the Dengzhou College. Source: *Wenhuiguan zhi* 文會舘志 (History of Tengchow College) (Weixian, 1913), p. 72

[67] Mateer, “What School Songs …,” p. 107.

Timothy Richard and the Introduction of the Tonic Sol-fa Method

Among influential China missionaries the British Baptist Timothy Richard 李提摩太 (1845-1919) stood out as one who paid considerable attention to music as a tool to Christianise China.[68] He and his wife Mary (1843-1903) were not only responsible for the introduction of the Tonic Sol-fa method into China in the mid-1870s but also for the production of the earliest music teaching manual in Chinese *gongche* 工尺 notation. Furthermore, the Richards were among the earliest Protestant missionaries to have made serious study of China's musical tradition. Like the Mateers, the Richards' did not introduce the Tonic Sol-fa system for the sake of updating the Chinese with the latest musical developments in the West. Nor did they study Chinese music for the sake of gaining an insight into China's artistic tradition. Their rationale was purely utilitarian. Their involvement in musical activities was very much part of their evangelism.

The importance of music in Timothy Richard's evangelistic work was evident even before he met his musically gifted wife in 1878. Like most missionaries at the time, Richard began his career in the early 1870s by open-air preaching and passing out religious tracts in Chefoo and other places in Shandong.[69] But he was frustrated

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[68] As a measure of his importance in the history of the Protestant movement in China and of modern China, Timothy Richard has long been the subject of intense scholarly study. As far as I am aware, Paul A. Cohen's "Missionary Approaches: Hudson Taylor and Timothy Richard" in *Papers on China*, No. 11 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1957), pp. 29-62, was the earliest article on Richard. In 1972, Paul Bohr published *Famine in China and the Missionary: Timothy Richard as Relief Administrator and Advocate of National Reform, 1876-1884* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1972). For more a recent treatment of Richard, see Wong Man Kong, "Timothy Richard and the Chinese Reform Movement", *Fides et Historia*, Vol. 31, No. 2 (Summer/Fall 1999), pp. 47-59. There is also a large body of writings on Richard in Chinese. Among the most influential are: Jiang Wenhan 江文漢, "Li Timotai he Guangxuehui " 李提摩太和廣學會 (Timothy Richard and the Christian Literary Society for China) in *Wenshi ziliao xuanji* 文史資料選輯 (Selected Sources in Literature and History) 43 (March 1964); Gu Changsheng, pp. 158-9, 163-8, 175-86, 289-93 and 338-39. Shi Jinghuan and Wang Lixin, pp. 171-95.

[69] Bohr, *Famine in China and the Missionary,* p. 5. See also Richard Glover, "China" in John Brown Myers ed., *The Century Volume of the Baptist Missionary Society, 1792-1892* (London: The Baptist Missionary Society, 1892), pp. 116-18.

that his efforts were not resulting in anything "worth mentioning."[70] After much soul searching he concluded that this failure was caused by as much methodological flaws as by the irrelevance of his message to the Chinese situation. One of the adjustments he made was to adapt the Christian messages to the Chinese environment through hymn singing. The hymnal he compiled comprised "about thirty hymns." These hymns were "chosen because they appealed to the conscience of the non-Christian as soon as he heard them."[71] In order to maximise the impact on his intended audience, Richard took pains to make sure that his hymnal "excluded those which needed explanation, or otherwise were unattractive or repelled the reader."[72]

Apart from paying attention to the lyrics of the hymns, Timothy Richard also paid attention to the effect of music in his Christian enterprise. His timetable in Qingzhou (modern day Yidu) from the summer of 1876 to the spring of 1877 indicated that each day he spent more than an hour "teaching Sol-fa music" to Chinese orphans rescued from famine.[73]

Richard's choice of the Tonic Sol-fa system was not accidental. It reflected as much his British background as his missionary pragmatism. Developed in England by John Curwen (1816-1880), a non-Conformist minister and a gifted teacher in the mid-nineteenth century, the Tonic Sol-fa method was "one of the few alternative forms of notation to achieve international use in modern times."[74] It "used the solmisation syllables *doh, ray, me, fah, soh, lah* and *te*."[75] Like the seven-shape note system, it was based on the "Movable *Do*" principle, that is, the tonic of any given

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[70] Timothy Richard, *Forty-Five Years in China* (London: T. Fisher Unwin Ltd, 1916), p. 48.
[71] B. Reeve, *Timothy Richard* (London: S. W. Partridge and Col, 1912), quoted in Bohr, *Famine in China and the Missionary*, p. 8
[72] Reeve, *Timothy Richard*, quoted in Bohr, pp. 8-9.
[73] Richard, *Forty-Five Years*, p. 110.
[74] Bernarr Rainbow, "Tonic Sol-fa" in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* 2nd edition (London and New York: Macmillan Publishing, 2001), p. 603. For information on Curwen, see Bernarr Rainbow, *John Curwen: A Short Biography* (Kent: Novello, 1980).
[75] Jane Southcott, "Daniel Batchellor and the American Tonic Sol-fa Movement", *Journal of Research in Music Education*, Vol. 43, No. 1 (1995), p. 61.

major key was always given as *do*. This method proved to be particularly effective for community singing and was extremely popular among the late nineteenth-century urban music teachers in England and, to a lesser extent, the United States.

Timothy Richard first learned music in the Tonic Sol-fa notation at the age of fifteen when attending middle school. During his years (1865-9) at Haverfordwest Theological College, he actively promoted the notational system, introducing it "to the college, and to the Baptist Church and other Churches in Pembrokeshire."[76] Richard's enthusiasm for the system was not surprising. First, the rise of the Tonic Sol-fa method was closely connected to "an evangelical ministry and available to many through the Sunday schools."[77] In other words, the Tonic Sol-fa system owes its very existence to the drive to improve congregational singing on the part of Christian ministry.[78] Second, pedagogically speaking, the Tonic Sol-fa method was best suited for beginners, as it offers "distinct advantages when employed purely as an ancillary device in the early stages of learning to read from notes."[79] Third, the method, relying mainly upon aural perception of relative pitch and hand signals, not such costly instruments as pianos or organs, was best suited for missionaries working in an environment where teaching equipment might be hard to come by. Given the primitive conditions of most mission stations at the time, this inexpensive way of teaching congregational singing is a particularly important consideration. In the context of famine-stricken Qingzhou, Timothy Richard could just pattern everything with his own voice without having to have an organ or a piano. And finally, in contrast to the "Fixed Do" concept, the Tonic Sol-fa system teaches students "to place notes by their relative position within a key, not by their absolute pitch or by reliance

[76] Richard, pp. 22-3, 25
[77] Southcott, p. 61.
[78] See Rainbow, "Tonic Sol-fa", p. 603.
[79] Rainbow, "Tonic Sol-fa", p. 603.

on a given musical pattern."[80] This system, by virtue of its similarity to several forms of Chinese indigenous notation, is particularly effective in teaching students who are not used to singing tempered scales.

Richard was not the only missionary interested in the Tonic Sol-fa system.[81] Nor was Richard the last person to make use of it in missionary work. The Rev. Charles S. Champness of the Wesleyan Mission in Hunan stated in 1909 that he had "always found the tonic Sol-fa method of the greatest use" and recommended Curwen's *The Standard Course of Lessons on the Tonic Sol-fa Method of Teaching to Sing* as the best text-book "for those unacquainted with this method of teaching singing" to study.[82] Champness himself had been "for many years" working hard at teaching singing to Chinese school children, using the Tonic sol-fa method."[83]

Evidence of the missionary promotion of the Tonic Sol-fa method can also be found in published tune books. In the preface to *Songzhu shige* 頌主詩歌 (Blodget and Goodrich Hymnal, 1895), for instance, the Rev. Elwood Gardner Tewksbury (1865-1945), a Harvard graduate who for a time was responsible for the musical programmes taught at the Tongzhou College,[84] endorsed the use of the Tonic Sol-fa method by providing a succinct primer of the system.[85]

Mary Richard was also aware of the practical use of the Tonic Sol-fa method in her missionary work and did her best to put her knowledge of the system into practice. Like John Curwen, who "emphasised the importance of training teachers in the system and devised a series of qualifications that could be completed through

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[80] Southcott, p. 61.
[81]. In 1886 an article entitled "Tonic Sol-fa Notation in China" was published in *China Review*. See J. C. J. "Notes on Chinese Music", *CR,* Vol. 17 (1886), p. 474.
[82] Champness, "What the Missionary Can Do for Church Music in China", *CR*, Vol. 40 (1909), p. 189.
[83] Champness, "Music in China", *CR,* Vol. 48 (August 1917), pp. 495-96.
[84] Paterno, "Devello Z. Sheffield and the Founding of the North China College", pp. 72-3.
[85] Tao Yabing, p. 169.

classes,"[86] Mary Richard was attentive to matters concerning teacher training. While in Taiyuan, she held "a class on Wednesday evenings, teaching Sol-fa to those of our friends [Chinese scholar-officials] who wished to learn to read music."[87]



Fig. 3:9. Mr and Mrs Richard in 1884. From: Timothy Richard, *Forty-Five Years in China* (1916)

The Richards and the Discovery of the *Gongche* 工尺 Notation

The choice of how to modify one's own cultural norms for the sake of a utilitarian objective and the process by which it is carried out can be viewed as one of cultural learning framed by a give-and-take relationship between cultures. Timothy and Mary Richard's appropriation of the native *gongche* 工尺 notation is a case in point.

[86] Southcott, p. 61.
[87] Richard, p. 152.

Before the advent of the Western five-line staff notation (*wuxian pu* 五线譜) and cipher, or number notation (*jianpu* 简譜), there were three main types of notational methods in Chinese music: tablature (*shoufapu* 手法譜), pitched notation (*yinfupu* 音符譜), and graphic (*gexianpu* 格线譜) notation.[88] The most popular and certainly the most widely used is the pitched *gongche* notation, which has been in wide use in China for vocal, wind and percussion music since the Song dynasty. Differing from the Western five-line notation, the *gongche* method was designed primarily as a memory aid, not as a pedagogical means. Its main function was to preserve or document.[89] Because the exact meaning of its symbols "for melodic embellishments, pauses, prolongation, and so forth needs interpretation,"[90] a teacher was required to ensure the successful transmission of a musical piece written in this system. Despite these shortcomings, the *gongche* notation struck some missionaries as "a very respectable system of writing music – one which compares quite well with that used by the Greeks."[91]

The Rev. William E. Soothill explained the *gongche* system as containing the following common symbols:

合	Corresponding to our key-note major, say C.	
四	,,	to our major second D.
乙	,,	to our major third E.
上	,,	to our major fourth F.
尺	,,	to our major fifth G.
工	,,	to our major sixth A.
凡	,,	to our major seventh B.
六	,,	to our major eighth, otherwise octave C.

[88] Mingyue Liang, *Music of the Billion - An Introduction to Chinese Music Culture* (New York: Heinrichshofen Edition, 1985), p. 186. For more information on these types of pitched notation, see *Zhongguo yinyue cidian* 中國音樂辞典 (Dictionary of Chinese Music) (Beijing: Renmin yinyue chubanshe, 1984), pp. 98-99, 119-120, 123 and 256.
[89] Liang, pp. 177-8, 186.
[90] Liang, p. 189.
[91] Edward Syle, "On the Musical Notation of the Chinese", *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, North China Branch, Vol.* 1, No. 2 (May 1859), p. 177.

五 ,, to our major ninth, otherwise octave D.[92]

The Richards' understanding of the *gongche* system and its origins can be seen from the following passage:

> In the Sung [Song] dynasty (960-1126) the notation known as 工尺, equivalent to our sol-fa notation, had become common. It has the 7 notes with semitones between 3rd and 4th and 7th and 8th. This scale came from the Northern Liao dynasty, a race related to the Mongols and Manchus. This was a little before Guido (who died 1050) invented the stave and introduced the use of the syllables *ut re mi fa so la*; these being the 1st syllables of a 6 lined Hymn to John the Baptist. The *ut* was afterwards changed to the more open syllable *do*. Not till 1600 odd was the 7th name added by a Frenchman called Lemaire, who called it *si*.[93]

Similar to the Tonic Sol-fa method, the *gongche* system was based on the principle of solmisation. This was one of the reasons why, of all forms of indigenous notational systems, the Richards were attracted to the *gongche* notation:

> I was told by the Confucianists that their religion was largely explained in a famous work of the Sung [Song] Dynasty, about a thousand years ago, 'Li yo' [*li yue* 禮樂] (which might be translated 'Ritual Rites and Music').[94] It was when studying the musical part of this that I came across the Chinese Tonic Sol-fa system similar to that which Europeans had fondly imagined to be the latest product of the nineteenth century. It was fully known in China so long ago.[95]

The above passage also indicates that their knowledge of the *gongche* system derived mainly from such authentic musical sources of the Song, mostly likely from Chen Yang 陳旸's *Yueshu* 樂書 (Treatise on Music) or the *Yuezhi* 樂志 (Monograph on Music) in the *Song shi* 宋史 (History of the Song).[96]

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[92] Soothill, p. 223.

[93] Mrs. Timothy Richard, "Chinese Music", *CR,* Vol. 21 (July 1890), p. 311. Cf. *Paper on Chinese* Music, pp. 8-9.

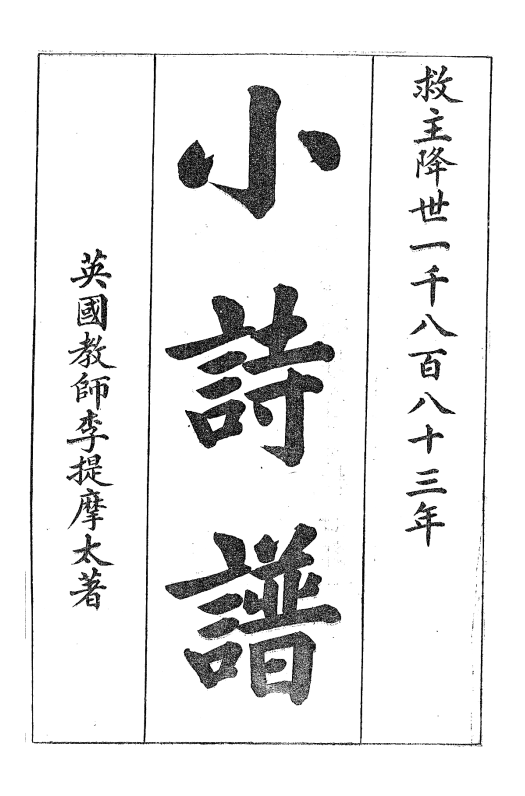
[94] There are two works by Song authors with the words *Li Yue* 禮樂. One is attributed to Zhang Zai 張載 (1020-1077), which has the exact title, and the other, named slightly different, *Li Yue lun* 禮樂論 by Wang Anshi 王安石 (1121-1086). See Zhongguo yishu yanjiuyuan yinyue yanjiusuo 中國藝術研究院音樂研究所 ed., *Zhongguo yinyue shupu zhi*, 中國音樂書谱志 (A Bibliography of Books and Scores Published in China) (Beijing: Renmin yinyue chubanshe, 1981), p. 3. Here Richard was probably referring to the former. Musical sources of the Song dynasty has been thoroughly examined by Rulan Chao Pian in her book *Song Dynasty Musical Sources and Their Interpretation* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1967).

[95] Richard, p. 168.

[96] For more details about Chen Yang and the *Yueshu, see* Rulan Chao Pian, pp. 4, 15, 45n, 89.

Once convinced of the utility and practicality of the *gongche* system in teaching the Chinese to sing the praise of the Lord, the Richards abandoned the Sol-fa system and began to use it in their mission work. Whereas "previous to 1883," to use Mary Richard's own words, the Richards "had used Curwen's Tonic Sol-fa system in teaching the Chinese to sing,"[97] the years after 1883 saw their concentrating on the application of the *gongche* notation in their work. This shift is illustrated nowhere more clearly than in a music teaching manual entitled *Xiao shipu* 小詩譜 (original English title: *Tune-Book in Chinese Notation*).

Xiao shipu 小詩譜 and the Appropriation of Chinese Musical Materials


救主降世一千八百八十三年
小詩譜
英國教師李提摩太著

TUNE-BOOK
IN
CHINESE NOTATION
BY
Mrs. Timothy Richard.

SECOND EDITION.

Shanghai:
Society for the Diffusion of Christian and General Knowledge.

Fig. 3:10: Cover page of *Xiao shipu* (1883) Fig. 3:11: Cover page of *Xiao shipu* (1901 edition)

First published in 1883, *Xiao shipu*, or *Tune-book in Chinese Notation*, was a progressively arranged musical textbook or "a song primer" intended for "mission

[97] "Preface" in Mary Richard, *Tune-Book in Chinese Notation*, 2nd edition (Shanghai: Society for the Diffusion of Christian and General Knowledge, 1901).

schools, Sunday schools, and native congregations."[98] It was organised under five main headings: Directions to the Reader (*fanli* 凡例)", "Methods of Teaching (*jiaofa* 教法)", "Methods of Assements" (*kaofa* 考法), "exercises" (*ke* 課), and "tunes" (*diao* 調). On the whole, the contents of *Xiao shipu* are a combination of theoretical explanation and practical exercises.

The use of the term "tune-book" as its original English title betrays a connection between this teaching manual and contemporary Western practice in music teaching. The term "tune books," as defined by Allen P. Britton, an authority on the history of American music education, denotes "collections of unaccompanied three- and four-part choral music for use in churches."[99] As a designation, it has been in use ever since the early 1720s, when John Tufts' textbook *An Introduction to the Singing of Psalm Tunes in a Plain and Easy Method* appeared in Boston in 1721. The most salient feature of this type of books is their greater attention to church tunes.[100] The *diao* or "tunes" section of the *Xiao shipu* contains seventy tunes, of which an overwhelming majority (90% of the total) were hymns commonly used in the Protestant Churches throughout the world, deriving particularly from British sacred choral music of the previous one or two generations. Also in the *diao* section fourteen antiphons (*yingda diao* 应答調) and a collection of five harmonised songs (*shuban diao* 數班調) in two or four-part harmony in a variety of meters and keys are found. As far as tunes of foreign origins are concerned there is a greater use of the major and minor scales. Rhythmic patterns are characterised by a slow tempo, even beat, and regularity of phrases, and lack of strong pulse. Harmonic arrangements are based

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[98] *CR,* Vol. 16 (June 1885), p. 232.
[99] Allen P. Britton, "The Musical Idiom in Early American Tunebooks" (an abstract), *Journal of American Musicological Society,* Vol. 3 (Fall 1950), p. 286.
[100] Allen P. Britton, "Music in Early American Public Education: A Historical Critique" in Nelson B. Henry ed., *Basic Concepts in Music Education*: *The Fifty-Seventh Yearbook of the National Society* for *the Study of Education* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1958), Part I, p. 200.

almost solely on I, IV and V progression. Without exception, all of the melodies are characterised by their narrow tonal ranges spanning within an octave or less in each line with the highest notes often occur in the third line of the strophe. In an attempt to provide variety, Richard included several national anthems, African American Jubilee Airs (*huan'ge* 歡歌), and a "Dervish Air" as well as "other pieces for choirs."[101] On the whole, however, the musical idiom of the *Xiao shipu,* compared with that expressed in early American tune-books, lacks the spirit of innovation. Given the Richards' nationality and their educational background, it is hardly surprising that the *Xiao shipu* manifests more affinity with the British tradition of sacred choral music than the American tune-books tradition.[102]

But unlike most of the tune-books published in China in the latter part of the nineteenth century, the tunes in *Xiao shipu* are written neither in the ordinary Western staff notation nor the Tonic Sol-fa system but in the Chinese *gongche* notation. Given that the Richards' believed that the missionaries were in China to convert, elevate, and transform the Chinese, and to show that Christian civilization had an "advantage over Chinese civilization,"[103] their appropriation of Chinese indigenous cultural forms deserves some attention.

Writing in 1880, Timothy Richard commented on Chinese music and the inappropriateness of using Western tunes indiscriminately in the evangelical enterprise:

> The Chinese cultivate sacred music but little. Still what they have will suit the Chinese far better than most of our foreign tunes, which are taught, not because

[101] *CR,* Vol. 16 (June 1885), p. 232.
[102] For a brief description of the main characteristics of the modern English hymn, see Nicholas Temperley, "Hymn," in Stanley Sadie ed., *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, Vol. 12, pp. 31-4.
[103] Richard, p. 158.

> of any special fitness in them for the Chinese be it remembered, but because they are the most familiar to us.[104]

Clearly Timothy and Mary Richard's adoption of the indigenous *gongche* system was a result of their conviction that a wholesale transfer of Western culture was not possible and, for the sake of effective preaching the Gospel, cultural accommodation was needed. "The fact that the music is written in the characters so perfectly familiar to his eye from childhood," as stated in a contemporary brief mention of books in the June 1885 issue of *The Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal*, probably by Richard himself, "would prove a great encouragement to every native to begin its study."[105] The Richards' adoption of the *gongche* was not a random act but had much to do with their missionary pragmatism. To them, the primary value of the *gongche* notation lies in the fact that it was native and of easier attainment by Chinese converts.[106] "The 工尺 has the advantage of being already universally known over the [Chinese] empire," wrote Mary Richard in 1890,[107] and therefore would be more accessible to the Chinese masses.

Choosing to use the *gongche* notation rather than the Tonic Sol-fa method in their evangelical work after 1883 does not mean the Richards were unaware of some of the inherent defects of the former, however. The first defect Mary Richard identified pertains to the way in which semitones were notated:

> Although the Chinese have been from 9 to 10 centuries before us with their sol-fa system, they have not yet in that system a complete scale of 12 semitones. In fact they have only one accidental – the sharpened 4th, called *Keu* [*gou* 勾], which was added to the new scale to make it correspond more to their previous scale, in which the sharpened 4th was a very special feature, so modern missionaries have had to add the others to make it complete.[108]

[104] Timothy Richard, "Thoughts on Chinese Missions: Difficulties and Tactics", *CR,* Vol. 11 (1880), p. 436.
[105] *CR,* Vol. 16 (June 1885), p. 232.
[106] M. Richard, "Chinese Music", *CR,* Vol. 21 (July 1890), p. 311.
[107] M. Richard, "Chinese Music, p. 311.
[108] M. Richard, "Chinese Music", p. 311.

The second defect concerns the way in which time is marked in the *gongche* notation:

> The chief time marks in common use by the Chinese are two- a cross, thus X (called *pan* [*ban* 板]) and a circle, thus O (called *yen* [*yan* 眼]) – the first put at side of the accented and the second at side of the unaccented note, equivalent really to the beats in our bars. If they want more than one note to be sung to the one beat, they just crowd in the number of notes to be sung to it at the side of the *pan* or *yen*, it may be 2, 3, 4, 5, or even more. The awkwardness of this must be apparent at once.[109]

Mary Richard was not alone in noticing the inadequacy of *gongche* time marks. Edward Syle mentioned this problem as early as February 1858 when he read a paper before the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.[110] Van J. A. Aalst in his *Chinese Music*, first published in Shanghai in 1884, considered the Chinese way of notating the values of notes as "incontestably the weakest point in Chinese musical notation."[111] W. E. Soothill, arguably the most vociferous promoter of Chinese music in the use of church services, also admitted the Chinese "have *no satisfactory method of expressing time* [original italics]."[112]

As zealous missionaries the Richards, unlike Aalst and other Western critics of Chinese music, were less concerned with theoretical speculations or musicological elucidation of Chinese music. They were more concerned with the immediate problem of how to improve this indigenous system so that they could use it in their missionary

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[109] M. Richard, "Chinese Music", pp. 311-12.
[110] Syle, pp. 177-8.
[111] P. 18. For a brief study of Aalst and the book, see Han Kuo-huang, "Short Contribution: J. A. van Aalst and His *Chinese Music*", *Asian Music*, Vol. 19, No. 2 (Spring-Summer 1989), pp. 127-30; Lin Qinghua 林青华, "Qing mo Bilishi ren Alisi de Zhongguo yinyue" 清末比利时人阿里嗣的《中國音樂》", *Zhongyang yinyue xueyuan xuebao*, No. 1 (2003), pp. 76-9.
[112] Soothill, "Chinese Music and Its Relation to Our Native Services," pp, 222-3. It is beyond the scope of this thesis to evaluate Mary Richard's findings on Chinese music. However, the issues she raised are still matters of debate among contemporary theorists of Chinese music. Echoing Richard's criticism, Liu Qi, for example, also singles out the defects quoted above as evidence of a lack of scientific precision in the Chinese notational systems in general and, the *gongche* system in particular (see Liu Qi, "Li Timotai fufu yu 'Xiao Shipu'", p. 27). Arguing from the viewpoint of cultural relativism, other scholars, most of whom are ethnomusicologists or music historians, tend to see these alleged defects as positive features unique to Chinese musical tradition which, free from the rigid constraints of Western staff notation, allow the performer more room for creativity (see See Wu Xiaoping 吴晓萍, "Zhongguo gongchepu de wenhua neihan" 中國工尺譜的文化内涵 (The Cultural Meanings of the Chinese Gongche Notation), *Zhongguo yinyue xue*, No. 1 (2004), pp. 82-9; Huang Xiangpeng, "Ancient Tunes Hidden in Modern Gongche Notation" translated from the Chinese by Joseph S. C. Lam in *The 1992 Yearbook for Traditional Music*, pp. 8-13).

work. Thus, having reached their diagnosis they embarked on a journey of musical renovation that would combine their knowledge of Western music and their expertise on Chinese musical traditions. Knowing the Tonic sol-fa method as well as they did, the Richards naturally sought to utilise some aspects of the Curwen system to remedy the "imperfections" of the *gongche* method:

> To supplement, therefore, we used Curwen's marks for all divisions of time (½, ¼, and triplet), viz., for half-beat, for quarter-beat, and inverted commas "for triplets. On the other hand, if they want a note to last two or more beats, they crowd in the X O at the side of that note. This crowding of *pan* [ban] *yen* [yan] we have obviated by using Curwen's dash, only made vertically, of course.[113]

Whereas the Richards found remedy for the defective *gongche* time marks in a Western source, their solution for the problem of inconsistency in the *gongche* key signatures was drawn from China's indigenous traditions. Their exploration of other forms of notational systems used in Chinese music led to the discovery of the the *lülü* notation.

As one of four types of pitched notations, the *lülü* notation (*lülü pu* 律吕譜) uses the twelve bisyllabic terms for the twelve semitones to denote intervallic relations. These names are as follows:

huangzhong	黄鐘	c	*dalü*	大吕	d-flat
taicu	太簇	d	*jiazhong*	夹鐘	e-flat
guxian	姑洗	e	*zhonglü*	仲吕	f
ruibin	蕤宾	f-sharp	*linzhong*	林鐘	g
yize	夷則	a-flat	*nanlü*	南吕	a
wuyi	無射	b-flat	*yingzhong*	應鐘	b

Instead of using the *lülü* notation to write music as the Chinese did, Mary Richard combined the twelve bisyllabic names with another Chinese term *yùn* 均 (lit., key) to serve as key signatures.[114] For example, to indicate the key-notes C, D-flat and D, she

[113] M. Richard, "Chinese Music", p. 312.
[114] For an explanation of the term *yun*, see *Zhongguo yinyue cidian*, p. 489.

used the Chinese words "*huangzhong yun*" 黄鐘均, "*dalü yun*"大吕均 and "*taicuyun*" 太簇均.

The Richards' synthesis of Chinese and Western sources can also be seen in the way they used charts to illustrate various notational systems. Noticing that "the modulator, given in *Yo tien* [*Yuedian* 樂典, Canons of Music] of 1544,[115] is a sufficiently interesting fact in itself" and that "it is precisely the same principle as Curwen's Modulator," Mary Richard designed a number of charts to guide her teaching. For example, the chart *Zhong Xi yinming tu* 中西音名圖 (Comparative Table of Chinese and Western Notations) (Fig. 3:12) aims to help her readers to understand the *gongche* system as in relation to other commonly used notational methods; *Gongche biao* 工尺表 (Chinese modulator) (Fig. 3: 13) gives "the fixed name of the Chinese

小詩譜 中西音名圖

西舊字	西律字	西俗字	印度字	僧道字	俗字	文字	琴字	十二律字
		f'			上			
		m'	[illegible]		乙	少角	[illegible]	
		r'	[illegible]		五	少商		
	C	d'	[illegible]	[illegible]	六	少宮	[illegible]	半黃鐘
	B	t	[illegible]	[illegible]	凡	變宮		應鐘
	B♭A♯	ta le						無射
	A	l	[illegible]	丨	工	羽	[illegible]	南呂
	A♭G♯	la se						夷則
	G	s	[illegible]	人	尺	徵	[illegible]	林鐘
	G♭F♯	sa fe				變徵		蕤賓
	F	f	[illegible]	[illegible]	上		[illegible]	仲呂
	E	m	[illegible]	丶	乙	角	[illegible]	姑洗
	E♭D♯	ma re					[illegible]	夾鐘
	D	r	[illegible]	フ	四	商	[illegible]	太簇
	D♭C♯	ra de						大呂
	C	d	[illegible]	[illegible]	合	宮	[illegible]	黃鐘
		t_1	[illegible]		凡			
		l_1	[illegible]		工	太羽		
觀			觀					
橫		s_1	橫		尺	太徵		

Fig. 3:12: *Zhong Xi yinming tu* 中西音名圖 (Comparative Table of Chinese and Western Notations).

[115] M. Richard, "Chinese Music", *CR,* Vol. 21 (August 1890), p. 338. She was probably referring to Huang Zuo's 黃佐 (1490-1566) work by the same title. But according to Rulan Chao Pian, this book was printed in 1682. See Rulan Chao Pian, p. 9, note 42.

Key-notes and the 工尺 and sol-fa of Scale C, besides ancient notes";[116] *Bianjie tu* 變調圖 (Signatures of Keys, Eastern and Western) (Fig. 3:14) provides a table of key signatures; and *Yuejie tu* 樂節圖 (Comparative Table showing Time-marks) (Fig. 3:15) uses the first four bars of Handel's *Hallelujah* chorus, transcribed in three notations, to illustrate "the comparative time-marks, including rests."[117]

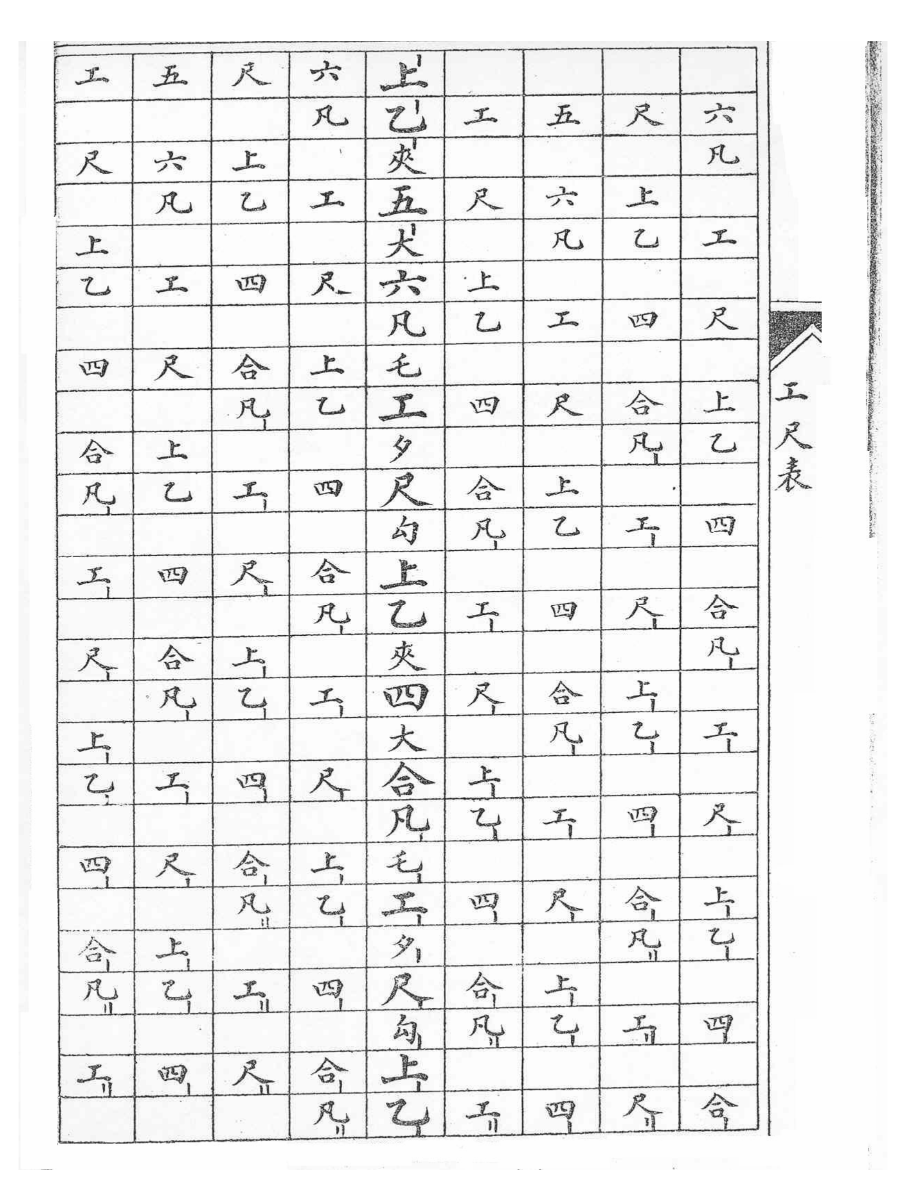


Fig.3:13: *gongche biao* 工尺表 (Chinese modulator).

[116] M. R., "Correspondence", *CR,* Vol. 21 (1890), p. 416.
[117] M. R., "Correspondence", p. 416.

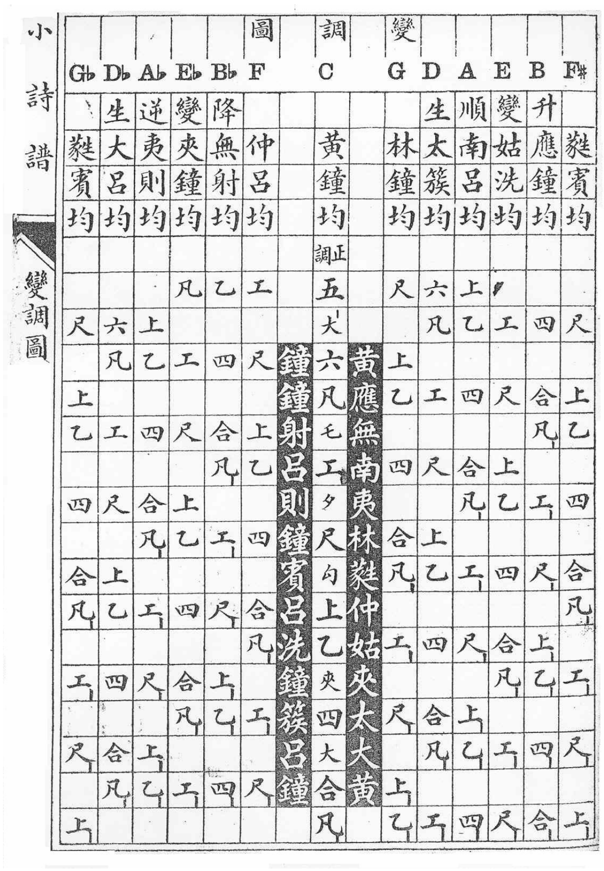


Fig.3:14: *Biao diao tu* 變調圖 (Signatures of Keys, Eastern and Western)



Fig.3:15: *Yuejie tu* 樂節圖 (Comparative Table Showing Time-marks)

Apart from incorporating a Chinese notational system into the *Xiao shipu*, Richard, like Ernest Faber, also appropriated a Confucian rationale for including music in his mission work. In the preface to the 1883 edition of the *Xiao shipu* written in classical Chinese, Richard began by emphasising the didactic function of music, reiterating the social, ethical and spiritual values of the art:

> Someone may ask me: What is the purpose of writing *Xiao shipu*? My answer is: Ultimate Rites govern the proper behaviours of human beings and perfect music governs the hearts and minds. In antiquity the reason that ancient Sages were able to make the heavenly god feel moved and managed to tame the demons was in no small measure due to their use of the music. This is why music as utility can't be ignored and it has to be propagated. That for years I have been working hard on the subject is not that I wish to seek the small aim of sensual gratification but to achieve [the big objective of] transforming the hearts of the masses and singing the praise of the Lord.[118]

If we omit the very last sentence we could be forgiven for thinking this utterance was from the mouth of Confucius himself or the pen of a Chinese gentleman well versed in the Confucian classics. By using the same arguments, and much of the same language of the Confucian scholar in justifying the teaching of music, Richard made clear his position that musical activity was valuable not because it cultivates the intellect but because it cultivates the personality. Musical studies were associated with the strengthening of moral values and the improvement of social behaviour.

Similarly, Mary Richard revealed elsewhere her agreement with the Confucian emphasis on the social and moral values of music. "Their books also dwell on the elevating effect of good music," she wrote in 1890. "In a book for women, which I read many years ago, mothers are advised to invite good musicians to sing and play to them, so that their minds may be elevated, and that in consequence the minds of their offspring may be elevated."[119]

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[118] "Xiao shipu xu" in *Xiao shipu,* p. 1b.
[119] M. Richard, "Chinese Music", *CR,* Vol. 21 (August 1890), p. 346.

Like Julia Mateer, the Richards made extensive use of Chinese music in this teaching manual. Twelve Chinese airs such as the instrumental pieces *lao liu ban* 老六板 (old six-beat), which "is the common hack of all learners,"[120] and *pu tian le* 普天樂 (universal happiness)[121] are included in the *ke* or "exercises" section of the *Xiao shipu*. Apart from appropriating Chinese secular music, the Richards also broke the sectarian barrier by making use of Chinese religious tunes. The *diao* or "tunes" section of the manual, for example, contains two Buddhist chants and three Buddhist airs. In the 1901 edition of the *Xiao shipu* twenty more Chinese airs were added as an appendix including ten "tunes sung at worship of Confucius, five Confucian chants," one single chant, a Chinese folk song entitled *shi duo hua* 十朵花 (ten flowers), a Confucian air and two unnamed Chinese airs.[122]



Fig.3:16: A Buddhist tune noted down by Timothy Richard. From: Richard, *Forty-Five Years in China*

Apart from writing teaching manuals, the Richards' missionary pragmatism also saw them appropriating elements of Chinese music in their church services:

> We have adapted some airs of Chinese songs, Buddhists' chants and Confucian chants, to be used in Christian worship, vocal and instrumental. In Tai-yen-fu [Taiyuan], two Sundays in the month, when our evangelists came in for their weeks' study, we had to help in the praise, besides the Mason and Hamlin organ used every Sunday, two flutes and a flat drum, which last kept us most mercilessly up to time.[123]

Timothy and Mary Richard's adoption of the *gongche* notation in their teaching and their appropriation of native tunes in church activity may not have been universally

[120] Syle, "On the Musical Notation of the Chinese", p. 177.
[121] M. Richard, "Chinese Music", *CR,* Vol. 21 (August 1890), p. 341.
[122] "Index" in *Xiao shipu*.
[123] M. Richard, "Chinese Music", *CR,* Vol. 21 (August 1890), p. 346.

approved of by their fellow missionaries but these actions conflicted with no principle that they held dear. After all, these devices served to bring religious music into the realm of native tastes. In a way, Timothy Richard's serious investigation of the indigenous tradition can be regarded as a by-product of his efforts "to seek the worthy". Above I have mentioned that when Richard first started his missionary career in Shandong in the early 1870s, he adopted a direct approach to evangelism by preaching daily in a street chapel and passing out religious pamphlets. But when his enthusiasm failed to bear any fruit, he began to adopt an approach similar to that of Matteo Ricci, even though he claimed that his inspiration was from Edward Irving (1792-1834).[124] Like the Italian Jesuit, Richard aimed at reaching the Chinese social and political elite through intellectual discussion and the publishing of scholarly writings. Starting in the early 1880s Richard made a serious study of the Confucian, Taoist and Buddhist texts for the purpose of understanding the Chinese mind. His subsequent study of Chinese music and appropriation of Buddhist tunes are a partial result of his conscious effort to reach the Chinese ruling classes. The following passage, taken from his reminiscences, not only tells us how he and Mary Richard became interested in Chinese music and the type of Chinese music to which they were exposed, but also demonstrates in an indirect way the link between Richard's effort to seek "the worthy" and his interest in Chinese music:

> In 1882 the new Governor of Shansi [Shanxi], Chang Chihtung [Zhang Zhidong 張之洞], who afterwards became the famous Viceroy, was bent on reviving the Confucian religion in the province. A new temple was built to the honour of Confucius, possessing a complete set of musical instruments of many kinds, the same as are in use in Shantung [Shandong] at the home of Confucius. A man in charge of the temple had the training of a number of Confucian students in the art of music. On him I called one day, and we had a talk, during which he discovered that I knew something of music. On my asking if I might listen to them at their next performance he said, "We will have one now." Forthwith he called on some thirty Sui-ts'ais [xiucai 秀才]

[124] Bohr, p. 7.

> to perform. It was a pitiable display, for although the instruments were many and beautiful and new the man in charge did not know how to tune them, with the result that there ensued a fearful discordant noise, but no music. I asked the principal why he did not put the instruments all in tune. This was a new art to him. He said he wished to know how. I then invited him to my house, saying that my wife understood music very well and she could explain to him. Thus we helped in putting Confucian music on a better footing in Shansi[Shanxi].[125]

In the preface to the 1883 edition of the *Xiao shipu*, Timothy Richard mentioned that he had previously written a book entitled *Zhong-Xi yuefa zuoyao* 中西樂法撮要 (Essentials of Chinese and Western Music Theory). This book contained three parts: music theory, the *gongche* notation, and a selection of hymn tunes. But because the book was too complicated to be of wider use, he decided to write an abbreviated version.[126] The following brief note published in the June 1885 issue of *The Chinese Recorder* confirms this:

> *Hsiao Shi Pu* (小詩譜) is the title of a work recently published by Rev. Timothy Richard of Shansi. Mr. Richard is the author of several works on music; and the present "Song Primer," if we may so call it, is the result of a desire to place the work within reach of those who could not perhaps find time to study a more elaborate work.[127]

This indicates clearly that by the early 1880s, Timothy Richard had not only realised the importance of using native musical traditions in his missionary endeavour but also started his effort to indigenise Christian music.

Like her husband, Mary Richard was equally keen to explore the native musical traditions in order to advance the cause of Christianity in China. She was certainly the better known as far as writing on Chinese music is concerned. According to the Rev. William E. Soothill, Richard's biographer, Mary Richard developed a strong interest in Chinese music while in Taiyuan and consequently started writing "on the subject." Mary Richard's knowledge of Chinese music consisted of not only theory but practical

[125] Richard, pp. 168-9.
[126] "Xiao shipu xu" (Preface to *Xiao shipu*) , p. 1.
[127] *CR,* Vol. 16 (June 1885), p. 232.

skill as well. In fact, she "learned so much about the native music that she once re-tuned all the instruments used in the nearby Confucian temple."[128]

Here Soothill was not overstating: the event he referred to was also recorded in Timothy Richard's memoir already cited above. Mary Richard herself, however, more than once acknowledged her indebtedness to her husband for inspiring her interest in Chinese music. In a speech to the Literary Society, Tianjin in April 1890 she noted:

> If I am able to throw any light upon the subject of Chinese Music, it is because ten years ago went into the study of the subject, and putting the result of his research into Chinese in a Book on Music in general in 4 vols. The only part I took in it was to put Western exercises and tunes into Chinese notation, to put intelligible time-marks to Chinese airs, and to adapt Chinese chants and airs for use in Christian worships.[129]

At any rate, Mary Richard quickly gained a reputation for her knowledge of Chinese music, becoming a recognised "expert" on Chinese music in foreign circles. A perusal of her work published on the topic confirms this designation.

The earliest evidence concerning her interest in Chinese music appeared in the December 1889 issue of *The Chinese Recorder* in the form of editorial notes. These comprise a few examples of Chinese music in Western staff notation. As these tunes "have been effectively used in Christian work in Shantung [Shandong] and Shansi [Shanxi],"[130] they also provide us with an exact idea of what had been used in her church activity. Her more scholarly article on Chinese music was published in three instalments in the July- September 1890 issues of *The Chinese Recorder*.[131] This work, comprising an introductory survey of the history, theory, instruments, and practice of the musical art in China, became quite influential after being published in

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[128] William E. Soothill, *Timothy Richard of China: Seer, Statesman, Missionary and the Most Disinterested Adviser the Chinese Ever Had* (London: Seeley, Service & Co., 1926). p. 127.
[129] M. Richard, "Chinese Music", *CR*, Vol. 21 (July 1890), p. 305.
[130] Mary Richard, "Editorial Notes and Missionary News", *CR,* Vol. 20 (1889), pp. 580-81.
[131] "Chinese Music", *CR,* Vol. 21 (1890), pp. 305-14; 339-47, 416-19.

an abridged form in such journals as *Leisure Hour*[132] and *East of Asia*.[133] In 1907 the American Presbyterian Mission Press in Shanghai issued her much extended paper as a monograph after she presented it before the China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society in Shanghai in November 1898. Several reprints were subsequently issued, the last of which in 1930.[134]

* * * *

Above I have explicated the utilitarian motives behind the missionary diffusion of Western music in China and the appropriation of Chinese musical traditions in the missionary work. There is no question that Christian utilitarianism was the reason for the missionary involvement in the diffusion of Western music in China. Yet we should not dismiss the missionary efforts without consideration of its actual effect. As demonstrated in this and the previous chapters, the introduction and dissemination of aspects of Western music in late Qing China were not a simple process of missionary teaching and Chinese acceptance. Rather, it was a complex phenomenon that involved much mutual learning, adaptation and absorption.

The cases of Julia Mateer and the Richards show the importance of focusing on the many dialogues, experiments and negotiations which occurred in the process of musical transmission and the importance of understanding the dynamics of arts and practical utility. These cases also raise important questions concerning the complex relationships between missionary education and Chinese nationalism.[135] It is

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[132] "Chinese Music" *Leisure Hour* (1897-1898), pp. 91-4.
[133] "Chinese Music", *East of Asia,* Pt. IV, Vol. I (1902), pp. 301-14
[134] Fredric Lieberman, *Chinese Music: An Annotated Bibliography* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1979), p. 182.
[135] David Sheng has demonstrated the importance that Christian hymns had in inculcating patriotism among Chinese Christians from very early on. See Sheng, pp. 94, 125-28. In a recent study, Ryan Dunch has also demonstrated that Chinese Protestants in the early years of the Republic played a key role in using flags, patriotic hymns and other symbols of the nation to awaken national consciousness among Fuzhu Protestants. See in his *Fuzhou Protestants and the Making of a Modern China, 1857-1927*, Chapter 4. Chinese Christians and graduates of Christian schools also played an important part in the rise of the mass singing movement in the late 1930s. Liu Liang-mo 劉良模, a mission school

generally true that, similar to what happened in the United States in the early days of colonization, music in mission schools and mission stations from the very beginning was conditioned by a deliberate desire on the part of missionaries to suppress indigenous music and to substitute something "better" in its place.[136] But the extensive appropriation of Chinese musical materials in the work of the Mateers and the Richards renders this understanding simplistic. Rather than painting a picture of missionaries imposing their values and practices on their native recipients, Mateer's music primer and Richard's *Xiao shipu* provide a clear illustration of musical synthesis and cross-cultural fertilisation. The fact that the Mateers and the Richards acted not only as agents of Western musical culture but also as learners and propagators of Chinese music complicates the usual understanding of the power relations. In a way their cases reveal as much about the teaching of Western music to the Chinese as about how the missionaries responded to the Chinese. More significantly their experiments in combining foreign forms with indigenous traditions became the opening step in a negotiation between traditional and Western elements that continues to this day.[137]

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graduate and a secretary on the staff of the National Y.M.C.A., was largely responsible for inspiring and organising the mass singing movement in the War of Resistance. Leftist composers such as Mai Xin 麦新, Xian Xinghai, and Meng Bo 孟波 were certainly influenced by Liu. After all it was through taking part in the activities organised by Liu's Singing Society of the Masses that they first experienced the power and impact of mass singing in mobilising the public. In his *Imperialism and Chinese Nationalism: Germany in Shantung* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1971), John Schrecker argues that an important contribution of Western imperialism was its encouragement of the spread of nationalism in the last decades of the Qing (pp. 256, 258.)

[136] For a study of the beginning of music education in the United States, see Britton, "Music in Early American Public Education: A Historical Critique", p. 200.

[137] For example, Zhao Yuanren 趙元任, a Harvard-trained philosopher and well-known linguist, experimented with harmonising Chinese folk and operatic melodies based on the pentatonic scale and tonal patterns; Huang Zi, a Yale and Oberlin-trained composer who more than anyone else was responsible for training the first generation of professional Chinese composers, publicly expounded the idea of synthesising Chinese musical materials with Western compositional techniques in order to create a distinctly nationalistic music similar to that of the Russian National School of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and Xian Xinghai, who studied with both Vincent D'Indy (1851-1931) and Paul Dukas (1865-1935) at the Paris Conservatory, also expressed similar thoughts in the late 1930s and early 1940s.